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DOCUMENTS OF JEWISH SECTARIES

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DOCUMENTS OF JEWISH SECTARIES

VOLUME I

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

EDITED
FROM HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CAIRO GENIZAH COLLECTION
NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE UNIVERSITY
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AND PROVIDED WITH
AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York

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TO

THE HONOURABLE JACOB H. SCHIFF

ἔοικε μὲν οὖν ἡ μεγαλοψυχία οἷον κόσμος τις εἶναι τῶν ἀρετῶν.

ARISTOTLE, *Ethics*.

PREFACE

THE two groups of fragments appearing herewith under the title of DOCUMENTS OF JEWISH SECTARIES, were all discovered in the Cairo Genizah, the greatest part of which is now in the possession of the Cambridge University Library, England, and marked as the Taylor-Schechter Collection. They are published here for the first time, each group in a separate volume. The first volume contains the group bearing the title FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK, which title was supplied by me on a hypothesis. The second volume reproduces FRAGMENTS OF THE BOOK OF THE COMMANDMENTS BY ANAN, which title was also supplied by me, but which may be accepted as a certainty. The importance of the first volume, which I have little doubt will prove a valuable contribution to the history of early Jewish Sects, suggested to me the advisability of furnishing the student with an English translation accompanying the text. The risk of giving a translation of such a defective text as the FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK unfortunately represent, was great indeed, and I was fully aware of it. This risk I felt not less when writing the Introduction and the Notes to the text, but I preferred to be blamed for my mistakes and be corrected, than be praised for my prudence of non-committal, which policy I do not always think worthy of a student. All I could do was both in the Introduction and in the Notes to call the attention of the reader to the unfortunate condition of our text. In the Notes in particular, I have especially marked many passages as obscure, the meaning of which was unclear to me. The literalness of the translation, to which I kept throughout, will, I believe, make the inherent shortcomings of the original fairly transparent. Words or phrases based on an emendation of the original which was evident to me are marked by asterisks. No student who has had experience in editing texts can fail to see at once that very little can be taken for certain, and the largest part of the commentary and the conclusions based on it in the Introduction can only be regarded as tentative.

The divisions into paragraphs were supplied by me, so as to enable the student to form some notion of the variety of matter touched upon in our fragments. I must further point out that by some oversight, which is excusable enough in view of the distance of my residence from the

place of publication, I had no opportunity to read the last proof of Text A of the first volume. I therefore collated this text again with the manuscript, and this collation resulted in a few new readings, which are incorporated in the Corrections and Additions at the end of the volume, to which especial attention is called. I have added also a facsimile of a page of text A and text B, thus offering an opportunity to scholars to make a fresh search in Genizah material. Nobody will rejoice more than I, if this should lead to the discoveries, though they be made "almost simultaneously," of fresh fragments, which will further elucidate the history of the sect, even should they prove to upset my theories.

Much less was the labour spent upon the second volume, קונטרסים מספר המצות לענן FRAGMENTS OF THE BOOK OF THE COMMANDMENTS BY ANAN. My contribution to its elucidation consists only in giving at the end of the text the necessary references to the Bible. Occasionally references will also be found to Dr A. Harkavy's *Studien und Mittheilungen*, part 8 (לקוטי קדמוניות, 2nd part, St Petersburg, 1903). I have no further comment to make on it, as the subject does not fall within the province of my studies, except that I hope it will prove a valuable contribution to the early Karaitic literature, and form a subject of discussion by specialists.

In conclusion, it gives me much pleasure to record here my thanks to Professor Israel Friedlaender, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York, and Professor Henry Malter, of the Dropsie College, in Philadelphia, who were helpful in furnishing me with translations from Kirkisani and other Arabic texts, quoted in my first volume. I have further to record here my thanks to Professor Alexander Marx, of the Seminary, who enriched this volume with many a suggestion. His experience in the reading of manuscripts proved also many a time of great aid to me. To my friend Norman Bentwich of London I am also under obligations for aid given to me in various directions. The Index was prepared by Mr Joseph B. Abrahams, Secretary of the Seminary, who was always at my call during the correction of the proofs, and to whom I express here my best thanks.

S. SCHECHTER.

NEW YORK,
June 1910.

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" " " 20, " B, *between* pp. lxiv *and* 20

INTRODUCTION

The two texts included in this volume reproduce the contents of two fragments in MS. coming originally from the Cairo Genizah and now in the possession of the University Library of Cambridge, England. They form a part of the Taylor-Schechter Collection, and bear the class-marks: T.-S. 10 K 6 and T.-S. 16 311. They will be designated here as Text A and Text B.

Text A extending from page 1 to 16 (inclusive) consists of eight leaves, or sixteen pages, measuring $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. The first four leaves, or eight pages, count 21 lines on each page, whilst the last four leaves (or eight pages) differ in the number of lines, pp. 9—12 having 23 lines. Pages 13—16 are mutilated at the bottom of each page, so that it is impossible to determine with any accuracy how many lines they may have had, but it was assumed in the notes that they contained 23 lines as the preceding four pages. The writing is ancient Oriental, in square characters, but rather stiff, and there is very little consistency in such letters as י, ו, the latter being occasionally so long as almost to be taken for a final ן, whilst the י is sometimes so large as to be confused with a ו. The ה also greatly resembles the ח, the left stroke reaching the roof of the letter, but this is a feature common to all ancient Oriental MSS. The MS. probably dates from the 10th century. Here and there we have letters provided with Babylonian or Palestinian vowel-points (p. 1, ll. 9, 10, 11, 18, 20, 21; p. 2, ll. 11, 16, 19; p. 3, ll. 8, 9; p. 5, ll. 8, 12, 16, 21; p. 6, ll. 6, 13), but the latter seem to have been added by a hand of a more recent date. Some words are crossed through by the scribe (p. 11, ll. 13, 16; p. 12, l. 17), as indicated in the text. The MS. is possibly defective at the beginning and is certainly so at the end. Pages 13—16 are badly mutilated, both on the edges and at the bottom of the page. The MS. is also torn and obliterated in some other places, by which a few words or letters are affected[1]. Besides the missing pages at the end and at the beginning, there is a lacuna between p. 8 and p. 9, the MS. breaking up at the end of a line, and perhaps in the middle of a sentence. It is impossible to determine how many pages may be missing here. I have also indicated such a lacuna at the end of p. 12, but have subsequently

[1] See texts and notes of p. 3, l. 2; p. 6, l. 19; but especially the text and notes of the last four pages.

come to the conclusion to consider it as continuous. As will be seen from the Notes, we have here to deal with a very careless scribe, who not only may have had a very poor copy before him, but also disfigured his text in several places by his inability to read his MS. correctly (p. 1, l. 12; p. 3, l. 7; p. 5, l. 15; p. 8, l. 3; p. 10, l. 21; p. 11, l. 9; p. 13, l. 6; p. 16, l. 2, text and notes).

TEXT B, covering pages 19 and 20, consists of one leaf, or two pages, measuring 13½ × 8 in., written in square characters, but already with a tendency to cursive. Some words are also provided with Babylonian and Palestinian vowel-points (p. 19, ll. 2, 15, 34, 35; p. 20, ll. 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, 14, 16, 19, 20, 24, 33); other words, again, are cancelled by the scribe himself (p. 20, ll. 5--6). It is undoubtedly of a later date than Text A (perhaps the 11th or 12th century), but the scribe must have been more careful and also had a better copy before him. Perhaps it will be more correct to speak of it as another recension of the same Text, as the differences are of such a nature that they cannot always be accounted for by the mere carelessness of the scribe of Text A or by such mere variants inevitable in two MSS. of the same text. This will be best seen by a comparison of the two texts, which on pp. 7—8 overlap each other, and the English translation of which appears in parallel columns.

Apart from the defective state of the MS. owing to age, or the carelessness of the scribe, its whole contents, at least as they are represented by Text A, are in a very fragmentary state, leaving the impression that we are dealing with extracts from a larger work, put together, however, in a haphazard way, with little regard to completeness or order. This is particularly discernible in the legal part. Thus we have on p. 7, l. 8 (=p. 19, l. 5) a reference to the laws concerning vows, which is practically not taken up again till p. 16, l. 5. Page 10, ll. 4—10, again forming the beginning of what we may call the constitution of the Sect and its organization, is suddenly broken off by laws bearing upon Levitical purity, covering about four lines, from which the scribe abruptly passes to Sabbath laws, covering the last ten lines of p. 10, and the whole of p. 11. Then he gives us another law of Levitical purity, covering about a line and a half, but followed by laws bearing upon the Sabbath, upon the relation of the Sect to heathens, upon dietary laws, taking up the larger part of p. 12 (from line 2 to line 15), and concluding with two Levitical purity laws, condensed in two short paragraphs (p. 11, ll. 15—18). It is here where he returns again to the constitution of the Sect and its organization, extending to about the end of p. 14; whilst pp. 15 and 16 represent laws relating to oaths and vows (p. 11, ll. 1—4); laws bearing upon the treatment of penitents (p. 15, l. 5 to end); and again, laws relating to vows and free offerings to the altar. In other parts of the MS. we have the same

feeling of abruptness and incompleteness; as for instance, on p. 3, ll. 12—16, where we may assume that the reference to the seasons and festivals was followed by a lengthy exposition of the calendar of the Sect. Possibly the scribe omitted it as being in his view a mere repetition of the Book of Jubilees. Page 4, l. 4, again, הנה פרוש etc., we could expect a list of the names of the leaders of the Sect, and their history; but of this no trace is left in our text.

The language of the MS. is for the most part pure Biblical Hebrew. The first three pages rise even to the dignity of Scriptural poetry, though a good deal of it is obscured by the unfortunate condition in which the text is at present. But there are in it terms and expressions which occur only in the Mishna or even only in the Rabbinic literature dating from the first centuries of the Middle Ages. Such are:

ופרוש p. 2, l. 9; p. 4, l. 4; etc.; cf. especially p. 6, l. 14. חבו p. 3, l. 10. ויסוד הבריאה p. 4, l. 21. הרואה את דם זובה p. 5, l. 7. העריות p. 5, l. 9. זכו לשוב p. 10, l. 3. גלגל השמש p. 10, l. 14. למשכים p. 10, l. 19. המוכן p. 10, l. 22. במובה p. 11, l. 8. גוי and גוים (in the sense of the Gentiles) p. 11, l. 13 and p. 12, l. 9. להרשותו p. 11, l. 20. חבור ישראל p. 12, l. 8. בממון p. 14, l. 20. מדוקדק p. 16, l. 2. מדרש התורה p. 20, l. 7.

The term בית השתחות (p. 11, l. 22) for a place of worship, even suggests a much later influence. It is, however, not impossible that all such expressions pointing to a later date are mere substitutions by the later scribe for the original terms. The term סרך again (p. 7, l. 6, etc.), occurring frequently in the sense of custom (= מנהג or משפט), is almost entirely unknown otherwise in the Hebrew literature. Strange also is the way in which citations from the Scriptures extending over the greatest part of the Bible are introduced without regard to strict consistency. The usual שנאמר is entirely absent and replaced by כאשר אמר, or ואשר א׳ (p. 4, l. 20; p. 7, ll. 8, 14, 16; p. 9, l. 2; p. 16, ll. 6, 15; p. 20, l. 16), followed occasionally by the name of the prophet, as אמר משה, or ומשה א׳ (p. 5, l. 8; p. 8, l. 14; p. 19, l. 26) or אשר אמר ישעיה (p. 6, l. 7) or אשר אמר יחזקאל (p. 19, l. 11). Sometimes, we have even אשר אמר אל or כאשר אמר אל (p. 6, l. 13; p. 8, l. 9; cf. p. 9, l. 7). The same expression is also used with reference to the *Pseudepigrapha* אשר אמר עליהם לוי בן יעקב[2]. In other places we have the more familiar כאשר כתוב or ככתוב or כתוב ביד (p. 5, l. 1; p. 7, l. 19; p. 9, l. 5; p. 11, ll. 17, 20; p. 19, ll. 1, 7). Sometimes, however, we have embedded whole groups of verses from the Scriptures without any introductory formula whatever, which in some places at least may be due to a mere clerical error (p. 5, l. 13; p. 8, l. 2). Altogether, the quotations from the Scriptures

[2] See also with reference to other non-Canonical books, p. 8, l. 20; p. 10, ll. 9, 10.

are seldom correctly given, so that sometimes the source is hardly recognizable (p. 2, l. 11; p. 5, l. 14 seq.; p. 7, l. 11; p. 8, l. 3). As a rule these deviations from the Massoretic text are mere textual corruptions of a careless scribe and not to be explained by the variae lectiones suggested by any known version, or quotation by any ancient authority. A specially noteworthy feature to which attention should be drawn is the absence of the Tetragrammaton or any other Biblical appellation for God besides אל, which is consistently used in both texts.

The contents of the MS. are in their present state about equally divided between Hagada and Halacha. The first part (pp. 1—8), dealing largely with matter of an historical and doctrinal nature, and the second part being chiefly occupied with subjects of a rather legal character. The Hagada as well as the Halacha represent apparently the constitution and the teachings of a Sect long ago extinct, but in which we may perhaps easily detect the parent of later schisms with which history dealt more leniently.

The defective state of the MS. and the corrupt condition of the text in so many places make it impossible to draw a complete picture of the Sect. Yet what remains offers us a few distinct features and salient points enabling us to catch a few glimpses of the history of the Sect, its claims and its relation to the rest of the nation.

First, as to its history: After the completion of 390 years, forming the End of the Wrath (p. 1, l. 5) or as it is termed in another place, "the end of the desolation of the land" (p. 5, l. 20), begun with the delivering of Israel into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, God, we are told, made bud from Israel and Aaron a branch to inherit his land (p. 1, ll. 6, 7). This would bring us to within a generation of Simon the Just, who flourished about 290 B.C. For twenty years, however, closely following the End of the Wrath, Israel was blind, groping its way, because of the evil effects of the erroneous teachings (or waters of lies) of the Man of Scoffing, who led Israel astray. This brings us into the midst of the Hellenistic persecutions preceding the Maccabean revolt (about 176 B.C.). But at last, as it would seem, this scion from Aaron and Israel overcame all difficulties, and was recognized as the Teacher of Righteousness whose mission is to make Israel walk in the ways of God (p. 1, l. 11, and also p. 6, l. 11; p. 20, l. 31), and to undo the evil wrought in a former generation (p. 1, l. 12 and notes).

This Teacher is also called the "Only Teacher," or the "Only One" (p. 20, ll. 1, 32), and is identical with "the Lawgiver who Interprets the Law" (p. 6, l. 7) referred to in connection with the princes and nobles "who went forth out of the land of Judah" (p. 6, ll. 5, 6, 8). The activity of these latter, though representing both Aaron and Israel (p. 6, ll. 2, 3),

consisted only in continuing and carrying out the precepts (p. 6, l. 9 במחוקקות)[3] of the Lawgiver, in which they were "to walk in them for all end of the wickedness" (p. 6, l. 10, text and notes). This seems to be the period intervening between the *first* appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness (p. 1, l. 11) (the founder of the Sect) who was gathered in[4] (or died), and the *second* appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness who is to rise in "the end of the days" (p. 6, l. 11, text and notes). Moreover, the Only Teacher, or Teacher of Righteousness is identical with משיח or the Anointed One from Aaron and Israel, whose advent is expected by the Sect through whom He made them know His holy spirit (p. 2, l. 12), and in whose rise the Sect saw[5] the fulfilment of the prophecy, "there shall come a star out of Jacob" (p. 7, l. 18; cf. note 18). Apparently this Anointed One was rejected by the great bulk of the nation who "spoke rebellion" against him (p. 5, l. 21; p. 6, l. 1). What must be especially noted is that the Messiah of the Sect is a priest, a descendant from Aaron and Israel[6]. Of a Messiah descending from Judah, there is no mention in our text[7]. Indeed, "after the completing of the end... one shall not join the house of Judah," whilst the princes of Judah, the removers of the bound, will be visited by the wrath of God (p. 4, l. 11; p. 8, l. 3, text and notes). Among these princes, King David is also included, who is held in slight estimation by the Sect (see below, p. xvii). As a contrast to and substitute for David, and his dynasty, the Sect put up Zadok, and his descendants (the sons of Zadok).

These differences, in addition to those still to be discussed, led to a complete separation of the Sect from the bulk of the Jewish nation. We are further told that they left the land of Judah for the North, and settled in the city of Damascus (p. 6, l. 5; p. 7, l. 19; p. 8, l. 21; p. 19, l. 34; p. 20, l. 12). They emigrated there under the leadership of the Star (p. 7, ll. 18, 19), where they established a New Covenant[8]. Unfortunately, there is a lacuna in our text at the end of p. 8, where the story of the Sect in Damascus was probably continued, but we gather from another passage that the Only Teacher found his death in Damascus, but is expected to rise again (p. 19, l. 35; p. 20, l. 1; cf. also p. 6, l. 11). This disappearance, as it seems,

[3] The meaning of the word is not quite certain, but the sense seems to be "the legislative rules laid down by the מחוקק."

[4] The death, or the gathering in of the Teacher is stated in p. 19, l. 35; p. 20, l. 1. See also p. 20, l. 14.

[5] See p. 12, l. 23 (משוח–אהרן), p. 19, l. 10 (משיח אהרן), p. 20, l. 1 (משיח מאהרן), which latter reading is supported by p. 1, l. 7. In p. 14, l. 19 the word משיח or משוח was probably torn off.

[6] Rather obscure is the meaning of וישראל in all these places, unless it indicates that the mother of the Messiah will descend from a lay family. As it appears from p. 6, ll. 2, 3, the Sect insisted that the lay element should be represented in all important functions.

[7] Cf. Test. Reuben 6 8, and Introduction of Dr Charles, p. xcvii.

[8] See p. 6, l. 19 and references given there, and p. 8, l. 21.

led to backsliding and apostacy from the Sect, but the backsliders were expelled from the Congregation, and admonished to come back to the Station of men of perfect holiness (p. 20, ll. 3, 4 and 5). In case they persisted in their apostacy, they and their families had no longer a "share in the House of the Torah" (p. 20, ll. 10, 13). They are regarded as the men of scoffing (p. 20, ll. 10, 11), and are cursed by the saints of the Most High (p. 20, l. 8), and no one is to associate with them in wealth and in work (p. 20, l. 7).

Neither these apostacies, however, nor the death of the Only Teacher, affected the fortunes of the Sect to such a degree as to be followed by its immediate extinction. Apparently the Sect continued its existence for a considerable time after these events had taken place. The Sect was constituted of four estates: Priests, Levites, Israelites and Proselytes (p. 14, ll. 3, 6). Its government, however, was placed in the hands of the first three estates (p. 10, ll. 4, 5)[9] consisting of a body of ten men selected of the Congregation, in which the tribe of Levi and Aaron were represented by four and the Israelites by six men (p. 10, ll. 5, 6). Only men between the age of twenty-five and sixty were eligible, who had to be learned in the Book of the Hagu and in the foundations of the Covenant (p. 10, ll. 6—8). At the head of the governing body stood two men, the one a regular priest whilst the other bore the title of Censor (מבקר) an office otherwise unknown in Judaism (p. 13, ll. 2, 5, 6; p. 14, ll. 6, 8). The priest, who had to be a man between thirty and sixty, was expected to be learned in the Book of the Hagu, in all the laws of the Torah (p. 13, l. 2; p. 14, ll. 8, 9), and a part of his office was to record in writing all the members of the settlement by their names in the following order: Priests, Levites, Israelites and Proselytes, as well as to give decisions in certain cases (p. 14, l. 6; see also p. 13, l. 5). More important were the functions of the Censor, who had to be a man between thirty and fifty, and who perhaps, as a rule, represented the lay element[10], giving instruction "to the many" (p. 13, l. 7) which he even imparts to the Priest (p. 13, ll. 5—6). He is to be first consulted in the case of admission of new members wishing to join the Sect, and to examine them, and to give them their place in it (p. 13, ll. 11—12). Offences committed by members of the Sect are reported to him, and penitents are apparently to apply to him for readmission (p. 9, l. 18 seq., and p. 15, l. 7 seq.). Every litigation and controversy is also brought before him (p. 13, ll. 14, 15)[11], and together with the Judges, he administers the monthly offerings of the Congregation, out of which the needy and the aged are to be supported

[9] No representation from the proselytes is mentioned there.

[10] This is the impression one receives from p. 13, ll. 5, 6, where the Censor is put in contradistinction to the Priest. See above, p. xiii, note 6, for the tendency of the Sect to have the lay element represented in all their important offices.

[11] See p. 15, l. 13, where the text, however, is defective.

(p. 14, l. 13 seq.). We must assume that a governing body consisting of ten Judges was only required in the case of larger settlements. Their jurisdiction was very extensive, they having the power to inflict capital punishment and banishment on the members of the Sect, besides determining the regular civil cases (p. 9, l. 10; p. 10, l. 1; p. 12, l. 4), but at least a Priest and a Censor were considered a necessity as soon as the population counted at least ten members. If the Priest is not "tried," a Levite takes his place (p. 13, l. 3).

In this manner the Sect organized itself in various cities (p. 12, l. 19) or camps (p. 7, l. 6; p. 14, l. 3), forming there congregations or assemblies (p. 11, l. 23; p. 12, l. 6; p. 13, l. 11; p. 14, l. 10). One city, however, seems to have been set apart as the City of the Sanctuary, the inhabitants of which were submitted to a rigorous observance of certain laws connected with Levitical purity (p. 12, ll. 1, 2). Perhaps it was in this Sanctuary that the altar was placed in which regular sacrifices were brought (p. 11, l. 17), whilst the other settlements were only provided with a house of worship, which also had to be avoided by the unclean (p. 11, l. 22).

Thus far, the history and the constitution of the Sect as suggested by our MS. We come now to its teachings. That the Sect accepted the Canon of the Old Testament needs no further proof. This is clear enough both from its tenets and practices, regulated after the injunctions of the Scriptures as understood by the Sect. In the Halacha as well as in the Hagada we have constant citations from and allusions to almost all the parts of the Scriptures. One of the most important tenets of the Sect bearing upon the Messianic belief is largely based on a passage from the Prophets (p. 3, l. 21), who are further cited in the polemics against its opponents (p. 4, l. 13 seq.; p. 5, l. 13; p. 7, l. 14, etc.). For the practice, of course, it is the Pentateuch which is considered the main authority, cited under the term of Torah, תורה or תורת משה or ספר התורה (see, for instance, p. 5, l. 2; p. 7, l. 7; p. 15, l. 2; p. 16, l. 5; p. 20, l. 13), and forming the particular object of interpretation; though in contradistinction to the Rabbinic usage, the Sect occasionally also derives norms for the practice from the prophetic writings (p. 9, ll. 9—10, text and notes).

But besides the collection of the Books forming the Canon of the Old Testament, the Sect seems also to have considered as sacred certain "external writings," forming a part of the *Pseudepigrapha*. This can be said with certainty of the Book of Jubilees, which is once quoted by its full name as the *Book of the Divisions of the Seasons* (p. 16, l. 3 ספר מחלקות העתים), but to which reference is more frequently made without giving the name (see Index sub Book of Jubilees). The same may also be maintained with fair certainty of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, to a portion of which, the Testament of Levi (p. 4, l. 15), at least, we have a fairly distinct reference, whilst there are

also other allusions to it (see Index). Besides these books still extant, though not exactly in the same shape as they have come down to us, the Sect must have also been in possession of some *Pseudepigrapha* now lost. This is evident from the reference to Yochaneh and his brother, who opposed Moses on the occasion of Israel's first redemption (p. 5, ll. 17—18, text and notes). In another place we have an allusion to "the Word which Jeremiah has spoken to Baruch, the son of Neriah, and Gehazi, the servant of Elisha" (p. 8, ll. 20, 21), which suggests the existence of Pseudepigraphic works ascribed to these Biblical personages and considered authoritative by the Sect. Perhaps some canonical importance was also given to the ספר ההגו (p. 10, l. 6, and p. 13, l. 2), the nature of which is not quite clear. It does not seem to be identical with the Pentateuch, as this latter is, as pointed out above, cited under the regular title of תורה (see above, p. xv). Together with the ספר ההגו are also mentioned the Foundations of the Covenant, בספר ההגו ויסודי הברית (p. 10, l. 6). This might suggest that the Sect was in possession of some sort of a manual containing the tenets of the Sect, and perhaps also a regular set of rules of discipline for the initiation of novices and penitents.

The loyalty to the Prophets on the one hand, and the recognition of the Book of Jubilees and other *Pseudepigrapha* as authoritative writings, mark the Sect with special features distinguishing it both from the majority of Jews (as represented by the Pharisees), and from the Samaritans, the most ancient Sect in Israel; the former being hostile to all the books not forming a part of our present Canon, and the latter rejecting even the authority of the Prophets.

Another point of supreme importance separating them both from Jew as well as Samaritan is the regulation of the calendar. The Sect looks upon itself as the remnant unto which God revealed "the hidden things in which all Israel erred: His Holy Sabbaths and His glorious festivals, the testimony of His righteousness and the ways of His truth and the desires of His will which a man shall do and live by them" (p. 3, ll. 13—16; cf. p. 6, ll. 18—19). It need hardly be pointed out that this passage is a mere paraphrase of the passage in the Book of Jubilees: "And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and Sabbaths, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years[12]." The "hidden things" are, in the Book of Jubilees, disclosed to the Sect by a special revelation[13], but the calendar of this Pseudepigraphic work differs in the most important essentials both from that of the Pharisees and from that of the Samaritans (see below, p. xx).

It is, however, the Pharisees, in particular, against whom the polemics of

[12] See Jub. 6 34 seq., to the end of the chapter. See also Ch. 23 19.

[13] See Jub. 6 3.

the Sect are directed. They are, as it seems, dubbed as "the builder of the wall," or "fence," referring probably to their motto, "Make a fence to the Torah" (p. 4, l. 19; p. 8, l. 18, and p. 19, l. 31, text and notes). The accusations the Sect brings against their antagonists are both of a general and of a specific nature. They are denounced in our Text as transgressors of the Covenant, removing statutes and given to persecution of the righteous, and despising the upright whom they turn over to the sword, against whose soul they gather (p. 1, ll. 20, 21)[14]. They are the children of destruction, and, at least implicitly, they are accused of appropriating moneys belonging to the Sanctuary, robbing the poor, making the widows their prey, and murdering the orphans (p. 6, ll. 15, 16).

The adduced reproaches are of a general nature, forming in the main a mere paraphrase of certain Scriptural verses applied by the Sect without much discrimination to their opponents (notes to p. 1, l. 20; p. 6, l. 16, etc.). There is also to be taken into account that the parallel passages as offered in p. 8, ll. 5—9, suggest that these accusations can hardly be applied in their entirety to the Pharisees. For we have there also the complaint that their antagonist "cast off restraint with an high hand to walk in the ways of the wicked." But as is clear from the context these "wicked" can be none else but the Greeks[15]. The denunciation must accordingly refer to the Hellenistic Party, in part, at least, unless there are some words missing in our Text. But we have, as already indicated, accusations of a very specific nature, and these leave no doubt that the object of the Sect's general abuse was mainly the Pharisees. The first of these accusations is polygamy, the opponents of the Sect being ensnared by two (wives) described in our text as "fornication" (p. 4, ll. 20, 21). It is in this connection that David (who married eighteen wives) is ruled out of court as one ignorant of the contents of the Law, which was only discovered with the rise of Zadok (p. 5, ll. 2, 3, 5).

This prohibition, as it must be specially pointed out, extends also to divorce, or rather to marrying a second wife, as long as the first wife is alive though she had been divorced[16]. This is followed by another accusation that

[14] The "man of scoffing who dropped to Israel waters of deceitfulness" (or lies) (p. 1, ll. 14, 15; p. 4, l. 10, note 10 and p. 8, l. 14) and is the cause of all these evils, is perhaps identical with the Commanding One of p. 4, ll. 19, 20, of whom the same metaphor (מטיף) is used, and is, as apparent from the context, responsible not for new revelations but for false interpretation of the Law. Is he the head of the men of scoffing of p. 20, l. 11, who are the special opponents of the New Covenant?

[15] See p. 8, ll. 9—11, ראש מלכי יון, unless we should assume that in his preference for a Scriptural term the writer used the word יון for Rome (which latter does not occur in the Bible) without any regard to accuracy.

[16] See notes to p. 4, ll. 20, 21. Cf. also p. 7, l. 1; p. 8, ll. 6, 7. About the prohibition of polygamy among the Samaritans, see Kirchheim, p. 20. Cf. Montgomery, p. 43. According to the evidence of R. Eleazar b. Tobiah in his *Lekach Tob* to Deut. **21** 5 (p. 35 *b*, ed. Wilna), the Karaites also forbade marriage with two women (cf. Poznanski, *Revue*, 45, p. 186). About the Zadokites, see below, p. xix.

their opponents "defile" the Sanctuary, inasmuch as they do not separate according to the Law, and neglect (according to the interpretation of the Sect) certain laws concerning נדה (p. 5, ll. 6, 7). Then a protest follows against the permission to marry one's niece, accompanied by an argument proving it to belong to the forbidden degrees (p. 5, ll. 7—11). But, both the case of נדה and not less this case of עריות belong to the group of laws forming the subject of the most heated controversies between the Samaritans and the Karaites on the one side, and the Pharisees (or Rabbinic Judaism) on the other[17]. The point at issue in the law of נדה is not given by our author, but in that of עריות he agrees with the Samaritans and Karaites, and we may conclude that this is also the case with נדה. Likewise, the laws concerning the Sabbath, that play such an important part with the Sect, agree in the main with those given in the Book of Jubilees, to which also the Samaritan and the Karaitic codes offer some important parallels, but they differ in many respects from the Pharisaic practice[18]. The few dietary laws, again, as well as laws relating to Levitical purity contained in this Text, show a strong divergence from the Pharisaic custom[19]; and the same may be remarked of the laws bearing upon the annulling of vows which the Sect seems to forbid altogether[20].

The annals of Jewish history contain no record of a Sect agreeing in all points with the one depicted in the preceding pages. But sufficient traces and traits seem to have been left of it in the accounts of the earlier sects to justify us in advancing an hypothesis towards its identity. I am thinking of the Sect of the Zadokites to which reference is to be found in the early Karaitic writings. Thus, we are told by Kirkisani in his *Book of Lights and the High Beacons* (written about 637), "Zadok was the first who exposed the Rabbanites and contradicted them publicly. He revealed a part of the truth and composed books in which he frequently denounced the Rabbanites and criticised them. But he adduced no proof for anything he said, merely saying it by way of statement, except in one thing, namely, in his prohibition against marrying the daughter of the brother, and the daughter of the sister. For he adduced as proof their being analogous to the paternal and maternal aunt[21]." Now, this description of the Zadok book well fits our Text which, in its Hagada, is largely polemical, whilst its Halacha affords little else than mere statements. A real argument and refutation of the opposite opinion we have only, as stated by Kirkisani, in the case of prohibiting the marriage with one's niece, which struck Kirkisani the more, as use is made there of the

[17] See notes to p. 5, ll. 6—11.

[18] See notes to p. 11, ll. 1, 2, 9, 13—15, 16, 17.

[19] See notes to p. 12, ll. 11—18.

[20] See notes to p. 16, ll. 6—13, but the text is so defective in that place that the meaning must be considered doubtful.

[21] See Kirkisani, p. 283.

interpretary rule of Analogy or היקש with which the Karaites operate so much in their marriage laws[22].

Of the laws peculiar to the Zadokites, only two are recorded by Kirkisani. The one is that they "absolutely forbade divorce, which the Scriptures permitted[23]." In the chapter, again, treating of Jesus, and his followers, the Nazarenes, he remarks, "Jesus forbade divorce as the Zadokites forbade it[24]." A similar remark he has about Obadiah of Ispahan (or Abu-Isa), who "forbade divorce as the Zadokites and the Nazarenes forbade it[25]."

Hadasi's evidence is to the same effect, namely, that Obadiah of Ispahan (or Abu-Isa), like the Zadokites, forbade divorce in all cases; which, he declares, is not in agreement with the word of God. In a similar manner, he expresses himself in another place, where he censures the religion of the Zadokites for the same prohibition as being against the Scriptures[26]. But as pointed out above, this is just the view of the Sect which regarded a second marriage during the lifetime of the first husband, even after divorce, as fornication. (See above, p. xvii.)

The second law which Kirkisani attributes to the Zadokites and to which he likewise objects is in connection with the calendar. "They (the Zadokites) also fixed all the months at thirty days each. It is possible that they relied in this on the story of Noah. Again, they excluded the day of the Sabbath from the sum of the days of the feast of Passover, so as to make them seven days besides the Sabbath. In the same way also with the feast of Tabernacles[27]." Hadasi practically repeats the same fact without adding anything fresh to it[28].

What is meant by the story of Noah, we learn from another place in Kirkisani, and from Japheth's Commentary to Gen. **1** 14, and Lev. **25** 5. According to this testimony the Zadokites or Zadok made reference to the account of the deluge which lasted 150 days (Gen. **8** 3), beginning with the 17th of the second month (Gen. **7** 11) and ending on the 17th of the seventh month (Gen. **8** 4), thus covering five months. This proves that each month counted thirty days[29]. The same argument is indicated in the paraphrase which the Book of Jubilees gives of Gen. **8** 3, "And the water prevailed on the face of the earth *five months*—one hundred and

[22] See p. 5, ll. 8—11. The only other place where the Sect adduces something like an argument in an Halachic question, is p. 4, l. 21 and p. 5, l. 1, but in this point the Karaites differed as much from our Sect as the Rabbanites, as we shall see presently, whilst Kirkisani only speaks of the criticism of the Rabbanites.

[23] See Kirkisani, p. 304.

[24] See Kirkisani, p. 305.

[25] See Kirkisani, p. 311. See also Gratz's *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. v. pp. 156, 405.

[26] See Hadasi, *Alphabeta*, 97, 98. Cf. Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, 1836, p. 99.

[27] See Kirkisani, p. 304.

[28] See *Alphabeta*, 97, 98. Cf. Poznanski, *J. Q. R.* x. p. 265, note 1.

[29] See Kirkisani, ibid. With reference to Japheth, see Poznanski, *Revue*, vol. XLIV. p. 177, and *J. Q. R.* x. p. 265, note 1. Cf. also Ibn Ezra to Gen. **8** 3.

fifty days[30]." Now, the fixing of the calendar is just one of the most important points in which this schism showed itself. The Sect (as we have seen, p. xv) accepted the calendar given by the Book of Jubilees, which at once separated them both from Jew and Samaritan. But as we learn from these documents, the difference consisted chiefly in the fact that the Book of Jubilees accepted the solar year of twelve months, of thirty days each, and four intercalary days[31]. It is true that our Fragment contains no distinct reference either to the thirty days or to the argument from the story of Noah. But we must never forget that our Text consists, as explained above, only of extracts from a larger work (see above, p. x), and it is easily possible that Kirkisani was in possession of this larger work, whilst the scribe of our text, in his careless manner, thought it sufficient to indicate, in a general way, the existence of serious differences in the calendar between the Sect and its opponents, but omitted the details as known from the Book of Jubilees. It is also possible that our copyist relegated these details to the Halachic part, represented in our MS. only by a fragment, just as he did with the laws relating to the Sabbath, or to the annulling of vows[32], whilst Kirkisani was in the possession of a complete copy. On the other hand, when a certain Karaite, Hasan ben Mashiach, in his controversy against R. Saadya (with regard to the calendar) attested that "the writings of the Zadokites are known among people, but they contain nothing of what that man (Saadya) mentioned; that there are in the writings of the Zadokites (various) things in which they differed from the Rabbanites in the Second Temple, with regard to sacrifices, etc., but there is not even a single letter like that which the Fayyoumite reported[33]," we may assume that

[30] See Jub. 5 27.

[31] See above, p. xvi. This would agree with Beer's interpretation of the calendar of the Jubilees, in his *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Leipzig, 1856). See Jub., the whole of ch. 6 text and notes, and references given there to the various explanations of the calendar of the author of the Book of Jubilees; to which is only to be added Epstein's discussion of this subject in his *Eldad ha-Dani*, pp. 155—161, but which is practically only a *résumé* of his article in the *Revue* referred to by Dr Charles. Epstein's suggestion that the Book of Jubilees has two kinds of years, an ecclesiastical year and a civil year, settles, it is true, many a difficulty in the text of the Book as it has come down to us. But it is not impossible that the original reading which was in possession of the Sect differed greatly from the present text. We have only to assume that in the case of Shabuoth, the Sect did not press the fifteenth of the month, taking it to mean the middle of the month or near it. Assuming the ממחרת השבת (Lev. 23 11—15, see Jub. 15 1, text and notes) to mean the whole feast of Passover, and ignoring the Sabbath of the Passover which the Zadokites, as we have seen, do not count, the sheaf-waving would take place on the 23rd, and the feast of Shabuoth would thus (allowing in accordance with Beer 30 days for both Nissan and Iyar) fall on the 12th of Sivan, which agrees with the Falashic tradition.

[32] See, for instance, p. 6, l. 18, and cf. p. 10, l. 14 to end of p. 11. Cf. also p. 7, l. 7 and p. 16, l. 6 seq.

[33] See Poznanski, *Revue*, vol. XLIV. pp. 176, 177. Cf. also his *Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadaya Gaon*, pp. 15, 16. See also Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, p. 160, note 271, and reference given there to Geiger. How confused and contradictory the notions about the Zadokite calendar were, is also clear from another passage of an earlier Karaite who thought that they began the month on the 15th after the New Moon, when the moon is in its full strength. See Poznanski, *Revue*, vol. XLIV. p. 172.

he had a copy something similar to ours in which the calendar differences were given only in a general way, while the Halachic part had more extracts relating to sacrifice than ours. The divergence between the testimony as to the nature of the Zadok books known to writers in the tenth century may thus be easily attributed to the difference in the texts used by the different scholars of that period. Our Text may thus, with good reason, be defined as containing extracts from a Zadok book, representing features contained in the copies of these authorities, but as it forms only extracts, these features are sometimes partly obscured; whilst other features may be entirely eliminated. But this does not in any way contend against the likelihood of their being of Zadokite origin.

This likelihood is raised, in a measure, to a degree of certainty when we consider the fact that it is the Zadokites from which the Sect derived its spiritual pedigree. It is to a Zadok to which the Sect ascribes the merit of having rediscovered the Law, in which act he is favourably contrasted with David, who was ignorant of it (p. 5, l. 5; cf. above, p. xiii). Who this Zadok was, of the many persons bearing this name in the Bible, it is impossible to say. At any rate, the impression is that he was a Biblical personage[34]. But it is not only to the remote past to which the Sect appeals; the Zadokites or rather the Sons of Zadok, according to the Sect, form the "sure house of Israel," and are apparently connected with them who "held fast to the commandments of God," and who were in possession of the hidden things—of the calendar (p. 3, ll. 12 seq., 19 and 26). They are, indeed, those who remained loyal to the Sanctuary, the very chosen ones of Israel, called by name, that arose at the end of the days, and who apparently kept a Station מעמד, and were connected with the government of the Sect (p. 4, ll. 1—5; cf. also p. 2, l. 9, text and notes). A book emanating from such a sect might plausibly be regarded as the writings of the Zadokites, or as a Zadok book.

The term Zadokites naturally suggests the Sadducees; but the present state of knowledge of the latter's doctrines and practices does not offer enough points of resemblance to justify the identification of them with our Sect[35]. At present it seems to me that the only ancient Sect which comes here into consideration is the Dosithean, for our Sect has left so many

[34] Perhaps we have here some reminiscence of the well-known Hagada given by Rashi and Kimchi in their commentary to 2 Kings **22** 8. According to this, King Ahaz during his reign burnt the Torah, but they saved one copy which they hid between the rubble of the walls of the Temple, which was discovered by the High Priest Hilkiah during the reign of King Josiah when they were occupied with the repair of the walls.

[35] It need hardly be pointed out that there are both in the Hagada and in the Halacha of our Sect features which strikingly recall the famous hypothesis of Geiger regarding the Sadducees and the Old Halacha. But this hypothesis is still so undeveloped in its details, that it seems better to leave the subject in abeyance. It is a further and larger question whether we have to deal with a sort of counter-tradition or with an interpretation claiming to go back to primitive Judaism.

marked traces on the accounts which have come down to us about the Dositheans that we may conclude that they were in some way an offshoot from the schism which is the subject of our inquiry. The accounts of the Dosithean sect are, as is well known, contradictory and confusing. They vary in date, in the characterization of the sect, and in the description of its origin. There is no need to reproduce them here, or to give the various attempts which have been made to explain them, or to reconcile their various contradictions. Yet almost all these accounts, contradictory as they may be in other respects, offer the one or the other traces of the characteristics of our Sect, which suggest, if not an identity with, at least the descent from our Sect, which should be noted here[36].

Thus, the testimony of several early accounts of the Dosithean sect connects in some way or another the Dosithean schism with that of the Sadducees, or puts it at least chronologically very close to the latter. This feature reminds us strongly of our Sect, which derived its spiritual pedigree, as we have seen, from the Zadokites. Some accounts go even to the length of making Zadok a disciple of Dositheus, which we may take as a mere overstatement of the high antiquity of the Sect[37]. If Abul-Fath goes as far as to speak of a sect called Dustan, which arose in the time of Alexander the Great[38], it may mean that the Sect claimed to have its origin in a parent sect dating from the Greek period preceding the Maccabean reign. This would fairly correspond with the claims of our Sect, which places the first appearance of its founder 390 years after the desolation of the Land by Nebuchadnezzar, which would bring us, as I have pointed out, to within a generation of Simon the Just, who flourished about 290 B.C. Such a date could easily be brought, it may be remarked in passing, into connection with the Zadok of the "Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan" who, according to Jewish tradition, was the disciple of Antigonus of Soko, the disciple of Simon the Just, and the originator of the Sadducean heresy[39]. I must, however, remark that I have my doubts about the integrity of the Text relating to this date. For our calculation would necessitate the assumption that the author of our Text knew more of the Persian chronology than either the great majority of the Jews or the Samaritans, which is not likely. As pointed out in the notes to our Text, it is probable that we have to read (p. 1, l. 6) ארבע instead of שלוש (490) corresponding with the

[36] For a general view of these accounts, see Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, pp. 155—161 (also Index, sub Dositheus), Nutt, *Fragments of A Samaritan Targum*, pp. 47—52, and Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, pp. 252—264. See also Kraus, article *Dositheus*, in the Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. IV., and reference given there.

[37] See Philaster (*Corpus Haereseologici*, i., ed. Oehler), I. 4, 5. Cf. Pseudo-Tertullian, I., text and notes. See also Epiphanius, I. 79. Abul-Fath also places one Dosithean Sect before the Sadducees.

[38] See Abul-Fath, p. 82. Cf. Montgomery, p. 254.

[39] See "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," Taylor, I. 2, 3, and ibid. *Excursus*, III. p. 111. See also above, p. xii.

seventy weeks of years of Dan. 9 2, 24. This cycle of years, however, as we know, is never exact, and may be adapted by any apocalyptic writer to any event in history which struck him as the great crisis in the history of the nation or even of his Sect. Such a crisis evidently took place when the Sect escaped to the North and sought refuge in Damascus (p. 4, l. 2, and p. 7, ll. 13, 14). But no such occurrence is recorded in Jewish history[40]. We are practically left without any definite date. But at any rate, the claims of our Sect were for a very high antiquity, which further receives support from the reference in our Text, on p. 8, l. 11, to the head of the Kings of Javan, though our Text, in its present condition, shows Roman influences[41]. It is thus not to be wondered at if the Dositheans, as an offshoot of our Sect, made the same pretensions, and even exaggerated them.

Another point of contact between our Sect and the Dositheans is the calendar, both fixing thirty days for every month of the year[42]. The testimony of Abul-Fath is most emphatic on this point when he says, "They (the Dositheans) abolished the reckonings of their astronomical tables. All their months consist of exactly thirty days. They abolished the true festivals and removed the commandments of the fasts and the afflictions[43]." When Abul-Fath proceeds to say that they count the fifty days from the morrow after the Passover, as the Jews do, the similarity with the Jews probably consisted in this, that they interpreted the ממחרת השבת (Lev. 23 11, 15) to mean the Feast (in contradistinction to the Sadducees who took that word to mean the Sabbath); but, on the other hand, they differed from the Jews in that they understood by it the last day of the Feast, or the seventh day of the Passover (see above, p. xx, note 31). Abul-Fath further bears evidence to the strictness of the Dositheans in their observance of the Sabbath, a fact which is also recorded with more or less variation by some Fathers of the Church. This is a feature which we observe also in our Sect, though the details given by Abul-Fath and the Fathers are not the same, and it may be that they have been misunderstood by the former[44]. The statement of Epiphanius is more general, when he says, "In the

[40] One can only think of the conjecture of Juynboll, in his *Commentarii in historiam gentis Samaritanae*, Leyden, 1846, according to which a number of Samaritans might have emigrated to Damascus, the capital of Antiochus Cyzicenus, their ally in the wars with John Hyrcan, in which they were defeated, which took place somewhere between 128 and 106 B.C. Kirchheim, p. 9, gives this as a fact, but practically there is no authority for it whatever, except this guess by Juynboll.

[41] For instance, the office of the Censor, occurring frequently in our Text. (See p. 9, l. 18, and elsewhere.) Such an office, entirely unknown to Judaism, could have been only borrowed from the Romans. We must also remark that these denunciations of the Pharisees could hardly relate to the Greek times. As far as historical evidence goes, the Pharisees could only have made their power felt at a much later date.

[42] See above, p. xix, as regards our Sect. With regard to the Dosithean Sect, see Pseudo-Clements, *Recognitions*, II. 8. Cf. Hilgenfeld, pp. 37, 160. See also Abul-Fath, p. 82.

[43] See Abul-Fath, p. 82. Cf. Montgomery, p. 254.

[44] See Abul-Fath, ibid. Cf. our Text, p. 10, l. 22 to p. 11, l. 17, text and notes. See also Epiphanius, ibid., and Origen, *De Principiis*, IV. 17. In his statement there that they remained over the Sabbath in the same position until the evening, he probably

same way they observe Circumcision and the Sabbath," by which he probably means their rigour in observing it[45]. When he further says, that "they have no intercourse with all people because they detest all mankind," we may readily recognize here the law of our Sect requiring the washing of the clothes when they were brought by a Gentile (because of contamination), and the prohibition of staying over the Sabbath in the vicinity of Gentiles[46]. His statement that the Dositheans had their own forms of government is also borne out by any number of passages in our text in which the government of the Sect forms a special feature[47]. His statement, again, that they abstain from eating living creatures may have some connection with the law in our Text on p. 12, l. 11, which may perhaps be understood to imply that the Sect forbade honey, regarding it as אבר מן החי (a limb cut off from a living animal), which would agree with the testimony of Abul-Fath that they forbade the eating of eggs, except those which were found in a slaughtered fowl[48]. More difficult is it to know what Epiphanius exactly meant when he said that "some of them abstain from a second marriage, but others never marry." The text is not quite certain at this point. But may we not perceive in it, at least, an echo in some way of the law of the Sect prohibiting a second marriage as long as the first wife is still alive[49]?

What is more remarkable is that even in the dogmatic teachings of the Dosithean Sect, to which most writers attribute a somewhat gnostic aspect, placing the Sect practically outside the confines of Judaism, traces may be found strongly reminiscent of our Sect. Epiphanius is probably right when, against almost all the others, he maintains that the Dositheans believed in resurrection[50]. The statement by most Fathers of the Church that the Dositheans denied the Prophets is probably only due to the confusion with the Samaritans. On the other hand, the assertion of Photius that Dositheus was particularly hostile to Judah, one of the twelve patriarchs, and that the Dositheans declared their founder to be the Messiah, is in harmony with the tendency of our Sect and the claims for their founder[51]. Sharastani's account that they recognized in Dostan the Star, and declared him as the Only One (which is the Messiah), recalls also the claims of our Sect who speak of their founder as the Star, and apply to him the name of the Only Teacher[52]. It may

confused it with another Sect. But see also Abul-Fath, 151 (Montgomery, 257), where we have some similar statement regarding the adherents of Dusis, that if they travelled at all on the Sabbath, they did not take their hands out of their garments. See Wreschner, p. 15.

[45] Epiphanius, ibid.

[46] See Epiphanius, ibid., and see our Text, p. 11, ll. 3, 4, 14, 15.

[47] Epiphanius, ibid. See above, p. xv.

[48] See Epiphanius, ibid., and Abul-Fath, ibid.

[49] See Epiphanius, ibid., and note 5. Cf. above, p. xvii, about our Sect.

[50] See Epiphanius, ibid. See also Abul-Fath, 151 (cf. Montgomery, p. 257).

[51] See Photius, *Bibliotheca*, code 230. Cf. also Hilgenfeld, p. 157, note 262, and Montgomery, p. 255, about Origen. Cf. above, p. xiii, about our Sect.

[52] See Sharastani, pp. 258, 259. Cf. Montgomery, pp. 259, 260. See also Abul-Fath, p. 251, about the peculiar term *Yechdu* (יחיד).

further be suggested that it is not impossible that the term the "Standing One" (ἑστώς, or *stans*) to be met in patristic literature in the accounts of Dositheus or Simon Magus, has its origin in the Men of the Station with whom we meet in our Text, and who were apparently looked upon as the leaders of the Sect[53].

We may further remark here that the Falashas, whose connection with the Dositheans had already been suggested by Beer, show also certain features strongly reminiscent of our Sect[54]. To the feature of the calendar, reference has already been made above[55]. To this may be added the fact which we learn now from the *Te-Ezaza Sanbat* of the strong similarity of the Sabbath laws with those given in the Book of Jubilees, and hence also with those expounded in our Text[56]. The law, again, occurring in our Text, of submitting cloths brought by a Gentile to a special purification has a parallel in the testimony of several travellers, according to which the Falashas change their dress and take a bath after having come into contact with a Christian or a Mohammedan[57]. We know also that the Falasha law prohibited the marriage of a niece, threatening all the terrors of Hell for its transgression, which affords another point of similarity with the laws of our Sect[58]. Another point of agreement worth mentioning here is the tradition regarding Zadok's rediscovery of the Law, which may, as suggested above, be responsible for the claim of the Falashas that it was Azariah, the son of Zadok, who brought with him the scroll of the Law to Abyssinia[59]. The term, again, בית השתחות, is strongly reminiscent of the Falashas' *Mesgeed*, and may perhaps be ascribed to the influence of some Falasha scribe. But on the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the Falashas hope for the restoration of Zion and Jerusalem, and their veneration for the House of David is strongly in contrast with the tendency of our Sect.

We may, then, formulate our hypothesis that our text is constituted of fragments forming extracts from a Zadok book, known to us chiefly from the writings of Kirkisani. The Sect which it represented, did not however pass for any length of time under the name of Zadokites, but was soon in

[53] See, for instance, *Recognitions of Clement*, Bk. I. chap. 72; Bk. II. chap. 7 and chap. 11. (Cf. Hilgenfeld, p. 37); Clementine Homilies II. chaps. 22, 24; Homily XVIII. chap. 13; Hippolytus, *Refutation*, Bk. VI. chap. 12. Cf. our Text, p. 2, l. 9, text and notes.

[54] See Beer, p. 56 seq.

[55] See p. xx, note 31.

[56] See *Tĕ-Ĕzâza Sanbat*, J. Halévy, Paris, 1902, pp. 142, 143, and see above, p. xviii, n. 18, the reference to the Sabbath laws in Jub. and in our text.

[57] See p. 11, ll. 3—4, and *Journal in Abyssinia*, by Samuel Cabot, London, 1834, pp. 174, 363. See also the *Falashas*, J. M. Flad, London, 1869, p. 55.

[58] See the Baruch of the Falashas, edited by J. Halévy, in the same collection, p. 203, and cf. above, pp. xvii and xviii. Altogether, this whole collection is still in need of a thorough critical examination and comparison with the Pseudepigraphic literature.

[59] See above, p. xxi. With regard to these claims, see Bruce, *Travels*, London, 1805, vol. II. pp. 399, 407. See also Flad, p. 73.

some way amalgamated with and perhaps also absorbed by the Dosithean Sect, and made more proselytes among the Samaritans than among the Jews, with which former sect it had many points of similarity. In the course of time, however, the Dosithean Sect also disappeared, and we have only some traces left of them in the lingering sect of the Falashas, with whom they probably came into close contact at an early period of their (the Falashas') existence, and to whom they handed down a good many of their practices. The only real difficulty in the way of this hypothesis is, that according to our Text the Sect had its original seat in Damascus, north of Palestine, and it is difficult to see how they reached the Dositheans, and subsequently the Falashas, who had their main seats in the south of Palestine, or Egypt. But this could be explained by assuming special missionary efforts on the part of the Zadokites by sending their emissaries to Egypt, a country which was especially favourable to such an enterprise because of the existence of the Onias Temple there[60]. The severance of the Egyptian Jews from the Palestinian influence (though they did not entirely give up their loyalty to the Jerusalem Sanctuary), prepared the ground for the doctrines of such a Sect as the Zadokites in which all allegiance to Judah and Jerusalem was rejected, and in which the descendants of the House of Zadok (of whom indeed Onias himself was one) represented both the Priest and the Messiah.

This is the only workable hypothesis I am able to offer at present. But whatever its destiny—for the condition of our Text precludes certainty and invites difference of opinion—one result which I am about to state seems to me to be beyond any doubt. And this is that it is among the sects severed from the general body of Judaism in which we have to look for the origin of such Pseudepigraphic works as the Book of Jubilees, the Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and similar productions,—and *not* in Pharisaic Judaism.

This fact was recognized more than half a century ago by Beer, who thus expressed himself with regard to the Book of Jubilees:—"Its whole type is a peculiar one, and is apparently based on a sectarian foundation." But this is also the characteristic which may be applied to the Book of Enoch and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which are so closely related to one another, all of which grew up on sectarian soil[61]. And surely this is the only possible view which could be formed of this class of writings by any scholar who has ever made a proper study of Rabbinic literature, such as the Mishna, the Talmud, and the "great Midrashim." Passing from these genuine Rabbinic

[60] See Frankel's hypothesis in the *Monatsschrift*, v. p. 390, about the place of the rise of the Book of Jubilees.

[61] See Beer, p. 56. See also Epstein, p. 199, with reference to the Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees.

works to the Pseudepigraphic class of literature, he feels transported to another world—from a world of interpretation and argument to a world of fiction. It is not any longer the living voice of the school to which he is listening, but the dead imaginings of some writer impersonating the heroes of remote antiquity. The Rabbinic literature indeed occasionally gives either in the way of overstatement or bona-fide as authority for a law or an ordinance or a moral precept the name of a patriarch or prophet. Such cases, however, are exceptional, and are rooted chiefly in tradition[62]. On the other hand, with the writer of the *Pseudepigrapha*, the exception is the rule. He is a regular book maker, in which the masquerade feature is developed into a fine art, whilst, as a schismatic, he is not satisfied to form a link in the chain of tradition, but endeavours to appear himself as the source of tradition. His revelations are not in harmony with custom and usage, and must therefore be dated back to the Biblical or patriarchal times. This is a form of authorship absolutely unknown to "official Judaism" of the early centuries, if by "official Judaism" is understood Pharisaism which formed the large bulk of the nation, which identified itself with the Synagogue, which taught in the schools, and largely also controlled the service in the Temple. Parallel passages, it is true, to some of the contents of the *Pseudepigrapha* are to be found in Rabbinic literature. But these are chiefly offered by the Chapters of R. Eliezer and other works of a similar nature, all of them dating from a comparatively late period. Indeed, they are themselves a sort of *Pseudepigrapha* of unknown origin, only that their heroes are mostly Rabbinic heroes, such as R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, R. Akiba, R. Ishmael, etc., instead of Biblical heroes. They differ from the old productions, both in style and in tendency, and they are not above the suspicion of having already made use both of Christian and even of Mohammedan sources[63].

It was only of late years that different kinds of Pharisaism were discovered[64], each of them represented by the one or the other Pseudepigraphic works. We even went so far as to perceive in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs a Midrash, portions of which were read to the suspected woman under the sanction of the High Court of Justice[65]. This hardly needs

[62] See, for instance, Mishna, *Eduyyoth*, 8. 7, where R. Joshua says, "I received it from R. Jochanan b. Zakkai, who heard it from his master, and his master from his master, a law unto Moses from Mount Sinai," that Elijah's mission before the advent of the Messiah will only be in a certain given way.

[63] Even the book, סדר אליהו רבה, attributed to the Prophet Elijah, does not eliminate the features of interpretation and tradition. In many portions, it is nothing else but a running commentary in the regular style of the Midrash to the texts from the Bible (cf. Friedmann's Introduction, p. 132); whilst the term חכמים is frequently turning up as authority for certain statements. Sometimes, even the names of the Rabbis are given (Friedmann, ibid., pp. 59, 60).

[64] See Dr Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, p. lix.; *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, p. 52. Cf. W. Baldensperger, *Die Messianisch-Apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judenthums*, p. 42, note 1.

[65] See Dr K. Kohler, *J. Q. R.*, v. p. 400 seq., and Dr Charles, *Testaments*, p. xvi. This is quite consistent with another theory of Dr Kohler that the "Mishnaic system is the code of life of a Chasidim

refutation. As far, at least, as the Rabbinic literature is concerned, there is not the slightest indication justifying such a statement. The general impression we receive from the Rabbinic literature, which remains, after all, the only authoritative source for the teachings of the Pharisees, is that they had a deep aversion to all "external writings," though not all the Rabbis were equally severe in their judgment upon it as, for instance, was R. Akiba. Hence, it is not likely that they would have indulged in the production of a literature towards which they all maintained a more or less hostile attitude. And this impression is now confirmed by our Text. For whatever difficulties the present unsatisfactory state of our MS. may place in the way of the student, and whatever doubts may prevail as to the meaning of this or that passage, one thing is certain, that we have to deal here with a Sect decidedly hostile to the bulk of the Jews as represented by the Pharisees. It is a Sect equipped with additional sacred books of its own, a calendar of its own, and a set of laws of its own, bearing upon various commandments of the Scriptures. It is at variance with the nation at large in its interpretation of the past, abusing its heroes, as in the case of David (p. 5, ll. 2—5), and the princes of Judah (p. 4, l. 11; p. 7, ll. 13, 14; p. 8, l. 3), nor does it share its hopes and aspirations for the future, the Messiah expected by the Sect being an offspring from Aaron. The Covenant of the Forefathers is an expression turning up again and again (p. 1, l. 4; p. 4, l. 9; p. 6, l. 2; p. 8, l. 18 [= p. 19, ll. 30, 31])[66], but it is the Sect apparently on whom both the duties and the privileges devolve at a later period. They who builded the Fence (thus trying to be saved by their own merits), failed to understand the significance of God's love of the Fathers, and the import of His oath to them[67], wherefore God hated them, whilst the Covenant of the Fathers belongs to the others (the members of the Sect). Indeed, these latter are the "sons" of the Book of Jubilees, who convict

colony" (*J. Q. R.* v. p. 406, note 1), which need not be discussed here. With regard to the Testaments, however, I will only refer here to Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, 2 ed., p. 457, where the real explanation of the בכתובים הראשונים is given. It is to be further remarked that *Jer. Sotah*, 16 *d*, omits these words. Personally, I have little doubt that בכתובים הראשונים is a corruption of לאבות הראשונים, this term being also applied to the heads of the tribes and other men of early times. (Cf. *Mechilta* 48*a*, and *Aboth d' R. Nathan*, 13 *b*.) Hence, his urging the מאבותם (Job 15 18). This view receives strong support from the version of the *Midrash Haggadol* ואומרים לפניה דברים שאינה כדאי לשמען היא וכל משפחת בית אביה כגון מעשה ראובן בבלהה ומעשה יהודה בתמר ומעשה אמנון באחותו שנ' אשר חכמ' יגדו ולא כי"ח מאב"ו מה שכר נטלו על כך להם לבדם ניתנה הארץ. See also *Midrash Haggadol* to Gen. p. 681. Cf. also Maimonides, *Hilchoth Sotah*, 3. 2. Perhaps I may remark here that Dr Charles' statement that even the Talmud (*Kiddushin*, 66 *a*) describes him (John Hyrcanus) as a second David (ibid., lii.), is incorrect. There is nothing of the kind there, the name David not occurring at all, and the impression is rather that the Pharisees did resent his wearing two crowns.

[66] It is noteworthy that reference to the ברית in one way or another occurs not less than 35 times in this short text.

[67] See p. 8, ll. 13, 14, 15, though the text is not quite correct in this place.

their fathers and their elders of forsaking the Covenant[68], or as those who "have forgotten commandment and covenant, and feasts, and months and Sabbaths and jubilees, and all judgments[69],"—that is, the men who differed in the interpretation of the meaning of the Covenant and the rules for the "feasts and months and Sabbaths and jubilees and all judgments" from the principles laid down in the additional sacred book, the Book of Jubilees. And it is among them, again, that those books arose which gave authority to the New Covenant. Having ruled out their fathers from the Covenant, they must date back their teachings to the *forefathers* and to the patriarchs and other Biblical personages. Certainly their Book of Jubilees, as well as their Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and their Book of Enoch, did not agree in all particulars with the texts which have come down to us. The Book of Jubilees, for instance, must have contained more Halacha than it contains at present. Nor can all these passages, either in the Book of Jubilees or in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs favourable to Judah have formed a part of the original works as known to the founders of the Sect. All such passages are probably a later addition by succeeding generations, who must have entirely recast the contents of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. But through whatever changes and interpolations this class of *Pseudepigrapha* may have passed—and certain of them may have been undertaken with the purpose of reconciling their teachings with those of the nation at large—their sectarian character always remained prominent, especially in their Halachic parts. Naturally all this class of *Pseudepigrapha* is of supreme importance for the history of Christianity, which undoubtedly was the consummation of all sectarian endeavour preceding it, and must have absorbed all the hostile elements arrayed against official Judaism; but for this very reason it cannot be considered as a factor in the development of Pharisaic Judaism. Altogether, I have the feeling that the "higher theology" is a little too hasty in its reconstruction of Pharisaic Judaism, relying too much on a few isolated Hagadic passages which in one way or another crept into Rabbinic literature, and entirely ignoring the Halacha. Lagarde somewhere makes the remark that the treatment of the Pentateuch must never be approached without a thorough knowledge of the Halacha, either in questions bearing upon higher criticism or in those touching upon textual criticism. How much more is this the case with Pharisaism. The only authoritative source for it is and will always remain the Talmud, and the "great Midrashim," in their Hagadic and not less in their Halachic parts.

[68] Jub. 23 16.

[69] Jub. 23 19.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

TEXT A.

¶ I Now, therefore, hearken unto me, ye all who know righteousness[1] and meditate
2 upon the work of | God[2]. For He has a controversy with all flesh[3] and He will
3 execute judgment[4] upon all who despise Him. | For because of their treason that
4 they forsook Him, He hid His face[5] from Israel and from His sanctuary | and
delivered them unto the sword[6]. But when He remembered the covenant of the
5 forefathers[7] He left a remnant | to Israel and gave them not over unto exter-
6 mination. And at the end of the wrath[8], three hundred | and ninety years after
He had delivered them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar[9], the King of Babylon, |
7 He remembered them, and made bud from Israel and Aaron a root of a plant[10]
8 to inherit | His land, and to rejoice in the good of His earth. And they
9 meditated over their sin and they knew that | they were guilty men, and they
10 were like the blind *groping in the way[11] | twenty years[12]. And God considered
11 their deeds[13], for they sought Him with a perfect heart[14] | and He raised for
them a[15] teacher of righteousness[16] to make them walk in the way of His heart.
12 And He made known | to later generations what He has wrought[17] in a *former
13 generation[18] in an assembly of treacherous men[19]. | They are those who turned
out of the way[20]. This is the time concerning which it has been written: "As
14 a backsliding heifer | so did Israel slide back[21]," when there arose the man of
15 scoffing[22] who dropped to Israel | waters of deceitfulness[23] and caused them to
wander in the wilderness where there is no way[24], to bow down the loftiness of
16 eternity[25], to turn away | from the paths of righteousness and to remove the bound

¶ I

[1] See Isa. **51** 7.

[2] See Job **37** 14.

[3] See Hos. **4** 1. See also Jer. **25** 31.

[4] See Gen. **18** 25 etc.

[5] Ps. **10** 11.

[6] See Jer. **25** 31.

[7] See Lev. **26** 45.

[8] Heb. l. 5 ובקץ חרון. Heb. p. 5, l. 20, offers the parallel ובקץ חרבן הארץ.

[9] Such a number is known from Ezek. **4** 5, cf. Jewish Commentators a. l., but it is more probable that we should read ארבע instead of שלוש (490) corresponding with the seventy weeks of years of Dan. **9** 2, 24, playing such an important part in the Pseudepigraphic literature familiar to our author. See Test. Levi, **16** 1, **17** 2.

[10] Heb. l. 7 שורש מטעת. Cf. Isa. **60** 21 נצר מטעי. The following לירוש את ארצו suggests that the words were taken from Isa. Accordingly, we should read נצר מטעו. Cf. also Zech. **6** 12, and Enoch **1** 16, and Test. Judah, **24** 5.

[11] See Isa. **59** 10 and Deut. **28** 29, which parallels indicate that we should read Heb. l. 9, מגיששים instead of וכימגיששים, the 'וכ having probably come in through the כעורים.

[12] See below Heb. p. 20, l. 5, speaking of forty years. But I am not quite certain whether they refer to the same occurrence.

[13] See Ps. **33** 15.

[14] See 1 Chron. **29** 9.

[15] See Jud. **3** 15 etc.

[16] See Hos. **10** 12.

[17] See Ps. **78** 6.

[18] Reading Heb. l. 12 ראשון instead of אחרון, which is a clerical error come in through the אחרונים in the same line. It is also possible that the whole phrase is a mere dittography of the בדורות אחרונים, the copyist also thinking of Ps. **78** 6.

[19] See Jer. **9** 1 עצרת ב'.

[20] See Exod. **32** 8 etc. Cf. below Heb. p. 2, l. 6, and p. 8, l. 4.

[21] See Hos. **4** 16.

[22] See Isa. **28** 14. Cf. Text B, p. 20, l. 11.

[23] See Micah **2** 6, 11 (cf. Prov. **22** 3 לחם כז') that is the false prophet. Cf. below Heb. p. 4, ll. 19 and 20; and p. 8, l. 14; and p. 20, l. 15.

[24] See Ps. **107** 40.

[25] גבהות ע'. See Isa. **2** 17. Perhaps we have in גבהות a corruption from גבעות. Cf. Gen. **49** 26 "the everlasting hills."

17 which the forefathers have set in their inheritance[26]. So as | to make cleave
unto them the curses of the covenant[27], to deliver them to the sword that shall
18 execute the vengeance | of the covenant[28]. Because that they searched in smooth
19 things[29] and chose deceits, and looked forward | to the breaches[30]. And they chose
20 the goods of the throat[31] and justified the wicked and condemned the just[32] | and
*transgressed the covenant[33] and broke the statute and[34] gathered themselves together
21 against the soul of the righteous[35] man. And all that walked | uprightly their soul
abhorred[36] and they pursued them with the sword and *rejoiced at the* war of
|| Page 2 the people[37]. Therefore, was kindled the wrath || of God against their congregation[38]
to make desolate their multitude, and their deeds* were unclean[39] before Him. |

¶ II 2 And now, hearken unto me ye all who entered into the covenant[1] and I will
3 reveal to you[2] concerning the ways | of the wicked. God loves knowledge. Wisdom
4 and counsel[3] He placed before Him | prudence[4] and knowledge, they minister
5 to Him. Long-suffering[5] is with Him and an abundance of forgiveness | to atone for
those who return from sin[6], and power and might and great wrath in flames of
6 fire[7]. | Therein are all the angels of destruction[8] for them who turned out of the
7 way and despised the statute[9], so that there should be no remnant | nor escaping[10]
for them. For, before the world was, God chose them not, and ere they were
8 established He knew | their deeds, and He contemned the generations of blood[11]
9 and hid His face from the earth | to *exterminate[12] them till they were consumed[13].
And He knew* the years of the station[14] and the number and the explanation
10 of their ends[15], for all | the *things that be everlasting and are to happen[16], to

[26] See Deut. **19** 14. Cf. below, Heb. p. 5, l. 20.

[27] See Deut. **28** 21, and **29** 21.

[28] See Lev. **26** 25.

[29] See Isa. **30** 10 דברו לנו חלקות.

[30] Heb. ll. 18, 19 ויצפו לפרצות. Perhaps corruption of ויפרצו פרצות "broke breaches" in the sense of licentiousness and lawlessness. Cf. Rab. Dict. s. v.

[31] Heb. l. 19 הצואר. Perhaps a corruption of העובר "perishable" "passing away." Cf. *J. Q. R.* vol. 16, p. 479, the expression עולם עובר in a Samaritan writing dating from the 12th century.

[32] See Prov. **17** 15.

[33] Heb. l. 20. Reading ויעברו ב' for ויעבירו. Cf. Joshua **7** 15.

[34] See Ezek. **47** 7.

[35] See Ps. **94** 21.

[36] Cf. Ps. **107** 18.

[37] Heb. l. 21 ויסיסו לריב עם. Perhaps corruption of וישישו ל' ע' "They rejoiced at the war." Another alternative is ויסיתו meaning, "they goaded the people into war."

[38] See Ps. **106** 40.

[39] See Ezek. **36** 17.

¶ II

[1] Heb. l. 2 באי ברית for ב' בברית. Cf. Jer. **34** 10 and below, Heb. p. 12, l. 10; p. 15, l. 5 etc. By this probably is meant the "New Covenant." Cf. below, Heb. p. 6, l. 19.

[2] Heb. l. 2 ואגלה אזנכם. More probable is that אזנכם is a corruption of עיניכם, as below, l. 14. See 1 Sam. **20** 2 and **22** 8.

[3] Heb. l. 3 ותושויה.

[4] Heb. l. 4 ערמה. Cf. *Beth* Hammidrash (Jellinek) v. 174 about the Gates of ערמה which God opens for Metatron. See also Prov. **8** 12.

[5] Exod. **34** 6 etc.

[6] See Isa. **59** 20.

[7] Heb. l. 5 חֵמָה. Perhaps we should read חַמָּה "heat" as suggested by the context "flames of fire." ולהבי Heb. ibid. is probably a corruption of להבות. Cf. Ps. **29** 7.

[8] Heb. l. 6 חבַל. The term מ' חבלה frequently in Rab. literature. Cf. Rab. Dict. s. חבל and s. מלאך.

[9] See Micah **3** 9.

[10] See Ez. **9** 14.

[11] Heb. l. 8 מדם. Perhaps it is a corruption of מקדם "of yore" or the former generations.

[12] Assuming that the מי in the Heb. text which gives no sense is a remainder of להשמידם.

[13] See Deut. **2** 15, Jer. **24** 10.

[14] Heb. e.g. מעמד. See below, Heb. p. 4, l. 5. Meaning obscure. Heb. p. 20, l. 5, would imply that station means as much as the position of the member in the inner council of the Sect, and their activity as governors or heads among the men of the "perfection of holiness."

[15] Heb. l. 9 ופרוש קציתם. Heb. p. 4, l. 5, however, suggests the emendation ומספר צרותיהם, "the number of their sufferings." See, however, Heb. p. 16, l. 2.

[16] Heb. l. 10 הוי עולמים ונהיית. Meaning obscure. I take the הוי as a participle of הוה. Cf. Jastrow and

11 that which will come to their ends[17], for all the years of eternity. | And in all of
them He raised for Himself men called by name[18], in order to leave a remnant
12 to the earth[19] and to fill | the face of the world with their children[20]. And through
13 His Anointed[21] He made them know His Holy Spirit, and he | is true[22], and the
*explanation of their names[23], and them He hated He made go astray. |

¶ III 14 Now, therefore, children, hearken unto me[1] and I will open your eyes to see
15 and to meditate over the deeds | of God, and to choose what He desireth and
16 despise what He hateth. To walk uprightly[2] | in all His ways and not to seek
after *the thoughts of the imagination[3] guilt and after the *eyes of fornication[4].
17 For many | were led astray by them, and mighty men of valour stumbled by them
18 from beforetime and hitherto. Because they walked in the stubbornness | of their
heart[5] fell the *Watchers[6] of the heaven. By them[7] were they caught because they
19 kept not the commandment of God. | And their children whose height was like
the height of the cedars[8] and whose bodies were like mountains* likewise fell[9]. |
20 All flesh that was on dry land *also perished[10], and they were as though they had not
21 been[11]. Because they did their | own will and kept not the commandment of their
Maker until His wrath was kindled against them[12]. ||

IV || Page 3 By it* went astray the sons of Noah and *their families[1], and because
2 of it they were rooted out[2]. | Abraham did not walk in it and he *became
3 friend[3] because he kept the commandment of God and chose not | the will of his
own spirit. And he delivered (it) to Isaac and to Jacob[4], and they observed (it)[5]
4 and were recorded as friends | of God[6] and men of the covenant for ever[7]. By
5 them the sons of Jacob went astray and they were punished* according[8] to | their

Kohut s. v. For ונהיית read ונהיות. Cf. below, p. 13, l. 8 Heb. Cf. also Ecclus. Heb. **42** 19.

[17] Heb. ibid. עד מה יבוא. I hardly need say that these translations are only tentative.

[18] Cf. Num. **16** 2 קראי [מעד אנשי] שם in accordance with which our text is perhaps to be emended. See also below, Heb. p. 4, l. 4.

[19] See Ezek. **14** 21.

[20] See Isa. **27** 6.

[21] Heb. l. 20 משיחו. See also Heb. p. 12, l. 23; p. 14, l. 19; p. 19, l. 10; p. 20, l. 1.

[22] Heb. lines 12, 13 והוא אמת, referring probably to the רוח in opposition to the רוח שקר of Belial. Cf. Jub. **1** 20, 21.

[23] Heb. l. 13 ובפרוש שמו שמותיהם. The parallel, however, offered by Heb. p. 4, ll. 4, 5, makes it clear that the שמו here is a dittography; whilst instead of ובפרוש, we should read ופרוש. Meaning not quite clear to me.

¶ III

[1] See Prov. **8** 32.

[2] See Ps. **101** 6.

[3] Heb. l. 16 במחשבות יצר. See Gen. **6** 5 יצר מחשבות. Perhaps יצר is here as much as יצר הרע.

[4] Heb. ibid. עני, corruption of עיני. Cf. Num. **15** 39. Cf. *Sifre* 35ª ואחרי עיניכם זו זנות. See also Test. Issachar, **7** 2; 2 Peter **2** 14.

[5] Cf. Jer. **13** 10.

[6] Heb. l. 18 עידי corruption of עירי the "Watchers." Cf. Enoch **1** 5; **7** 2; Jub. **4** 16; Test. Reuben, **5** 6; and Test. Naphtali, **3** 3, 5, text and notes.

[7] Heb. l. 18 בה which the scribe often wrote for בם.

[8] See Amos **2** 9.

[9] Heb. l. 19 כי נפלו which is probably a corruption of נם כן נ'. See also the following note.

[10] Reading in the Hebrew כל בשר אשר היה בחרבה [נם כן] גוע. Cf. Gen. **7** 22 and 23. Cf. also Jub. **4** 24.

[11] See Obad. 15, Job **10** 19.

[12] See Isa. **5** 23, etc.

¶ IV

[1] Heb. l. 1 ומשפח[ותי]הם probably suggested by Gen. **10** 32 משפחות בני נח. But the reading is doubtful, the MS. being torn and the letters in brackets missing. The sin to which he refers is perhaps the eating of blood (cf. Jub. **6** 18 and below, l. 6), assuming that some sentence is missing in which reference to this sin was made. It is also possible that the בה at the beginning of this paragraph (p. 3, l. 1 "in it") is a corruption of בדם. Of course, תעי, the second word in this line is a mere clerical error for תעו.

[2] Heb. ibid. בה הם נכרתים. Cf. Lev. **7** 27; Jub. **6** 12; that is, liable to the punishment of כרת.

[3] "Became friend" Heb. l. 2 ויע[ש]ה או[ה]ב which reading however is very doubtful as indicated by the brackets. Cf. Jub. **19** 9, and N.T. James **2** 23.

[4] See Jub. **21** 18 where Abraham commands Isaac to refrain from eating blood. See also Jub. **6** 19.

[5] Heb. וישמרו omitting אותה (המצוה). Cf. Jub. **6** 19, text and notes "*a b* omit 'it'."

[6] See Jub. **19** 9 and **30** 21, cf. Singer, p. 151.

[7] See Gen. **14** 13.

[8] Reading Heb. l. 4 לפי instead of לפני.

error. And their children in Egypt walked in the stubbornness of their heart to
6 take counsel against | the commandments of God and every man doing* that which
7 was right in his own[9] eyes and they ate blood[10]. Therefore He exterminated | their
males in the desert* when He spake* to them in the desert in Kadesh, Go up
and possess* the *land[11]. *And they provoked* His spirit[12], and hearkened not |
8 unto the voice of their Maker[13], the commandments of their teachers[14], and murmured
9 in their tents[15]. Therefore the wrath of God was kindled | against their congregation[16],
and their children perished by it, and their kings were exterminated by it, and their
10 mighty men perished by it | and their land *was made desolate*[17] by* it. By it
11 were guilty[18] the first that entered into the covenant, and they were delivered | unto
the sword[19]. Because they forsook the covenant of God and chose their* own will
12 and sought after the stubbornness | of their heart[20], every man doing according to
his pleasure[21].

¶ V 13 But with them that held fast to[1] the commandments of God, | who were left among
14 them, God confirmed His covenant with Israel for ever, revealing | unto them the
hidden things in which all Israel erred: His holy Sabbaths and His glorious
15 festivals, | the testimony of His righteousness and the ways of His truth and the
16 desires of His will which a man shall do | and live by them[2]. He opened before
17 them[3] and they digged a well of many waters, | and he that despises them shall
not live[4]. But they *wallowed[5] in the transgression of man[6] and in the ways of
18 the unclean woman. | And they said that it belongs to us[7]. But God in the
*abundance[8] of His wonder made atonement for their sins[9] and forgave their trans-
19 gression. | And He built them a sure house in Israel[10], the like of which never arose
20 beforetime and | hitherto. They who hold fast to Him are for the life of eternity,
21 and all glory of man is for them; as | God confirmed it to them through Ezekiel,
|| Page 4 the prophet, saying: "The priests and the Levites and the sons || of Zadok that
2 kept the charge of His sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray | from
*them they shall bring near unto me fat and blood[11]."

[9] See Jud. **17** 6.

[10] See Jub. **4** 6.

[11] The Heb. text (ll. 6 and 7 ויכרת...וירשו את) is very corrupt. But the parallel passages in Num. **14** 29, 43, Deut. **1** 40—46, **9** 23, 24 and Ps. **106** 33 suggest the following correction ויכרת זכורם (כאשר דבר להם במדבר) קדש עלו ורשו(את הארץ) after which our translation was made.

[12] Heb. l. 7 רוחם ולא etc. which gives no sense, but the references given in the former note suggest וימרו את רוחו. It is also possible that the missing words are ויבחרו ברצון רוחם "and chose the will of their own spirit." Cf. above, ll. 2 and 3.

[13] See Isa. **22** 11.

[14] Heb. l. 8 יוריהם. Cf. below, Heb. p. 6, l. 11, and p. 20, l. 14.

[15] Heb. l. 8 וירגנו וג׳. See Ps. **106** 25.

[16] See Ps. **106** 40. Cf. above, p. 1, l. 21, and below, Heb. p. 8, l. 13.

[17] Reading Hebrew l. 10 נָשמה for שממה. Cf. Jer. **12** 11, and Lev. **26** 33.

[18] Heb. l. 12 חבו. See Rab. Dict. s. v. חוב.

[19] See above, Heb. p. 1, l. 17.

[20] See above, Heb. p. 2, l. 16.

[21] See Esther **1** 8.

¶ V

[1] Heb. l. 12 ובמחזיקים במצות וג׳. Cf. Isa. **56** 4, seq. Cf. below, Heb. p. 20, l. 27. See also Test. Naphtali, **3** 1.

[2] See Lev. **18** 5. The whole passage evidently refers to calendar differences. Cf. Jub. **1** 14; **6** 34, 37 and **23** 19. It is however not clear what is meant by the "Holy Sabbaths" (שבתות קדשו). Cf. below, Heb. p. 6, l. 18 and p. 20, ll. 30 and 31. Perhaps it refers to certain laws regarding the observance of the Sabbath. Cf. Singer, pp. 191 and 198. See Introduction, pp. xvi and xviii.

[3] Heb. l. 16 פ׳ לפניהם. Perhaps corruption of פ׳ עיניהם "He opened their eyes." Cf. 2 Kings **6** 20 etc.

[4] More fully is the simile of the well developed below. Heb. p. 6, l. 2, seq.

[5] Heb. l. 17 התגוללו. Cf. Heb. below, p. 8, l. 5.

[6] Heb. ibid. בפשע אנוש. Prov. **29** 6 ב׳ איש.

[7] Perhaps allusion to Ezek. **11** 15, and **33** 24.

[8] Heb. l. 17 ברוי corruption of ברוב.

[9] Heb. ibid. כפר בעד עונם which suggests כפר בעדם. Cf. Lev. **16** 6 etc. See also below, Heb. p. 4, l. 10.

[10] Cf. 1 Sam. **2** 35 etc.

[11] Ezek. **44** 15 והכהנים הלוים בני צדוק אשר שמרו

¶ VI 3 The priests are the captivity[1] of Israel | who have gone forth out of the land
of Judah and they who have joined them[2]. And the sons of Zadok are the chosen |
4 of Israel called by names[3] that arose at the end of the days[4]. Behold the explanation |
5 of their names according to their generations, the end of their station and the number
6 of their sufferings and the years | of their sojourns[5] and the explanation of their
7 deeds. The holy they alter which God made atonement | for them[6]. And they
justified the righteous and condemned the wicked[7]. And all they who come after
8 them | to do according to the interpretation of the Law in which the forefathers were
9 *instructed[8] until the *completing[9] | of the end of these years. In accordance with
10 the covenant which God has confirmed to the forefathers to make atonement | for
their sins, so shall God make atonement for them[10]. And after the completing of the
11 end in accordance with the number of these years | *one shall not join the house of
12 Judah[11], but every man shall stand up against his | net[12]. The wall is built, the decree
13 is far removed[13]. And during all these years there will be | Belial[14] let loose against Israel
14 as God hath spoken through Isaiah, the prophet, the son | of Amoz, saying: Fear
and the net and the snare are upon thee, O inhabitant of the land[15]. Its explanation
15–16 is[16] | : three nets of Belial concerning which Levi the son of Jacob hath spoken[17] | by*
17 which he ensnared Israel[18] and *directed their faces to the three kinds | of righteousness.

את משמרת מקדשי בתעות בני ישראל מעלי המה יקרבו אלי לשרתני ועמדו לפני להקריב לי חלב ודם נאם אדני ה׳. Our Heb. l. 21 and p. 4, ll. 1, 2 text reproduced by the translation reads הכהנים והלוים ובני צדוק אשר שמרו את משמרת מקדשו בתעות בני ישראל מעליהם יגישו לי חלב ודם. The differences are striking and some of these may be ascribed to the carelessness of the scribe, but it is not impossible that the differences in the first three words were made intentionally to indicate that his priests and Levites were not identical with the sons of Zadok. This is at least the impression one receives from the comment given in the lines that follow.

¶ VI

[1] Heb. l. 2 שבי. Cf. Heb. p. 6, l. 5; p. 8, l. 16 (text B, l. 29) which word I read שְׁבִי "captivity." The word, however, can also be read שָׁבֵי "repentants." Cf. p. 19, ll. 15, 16. But p. 6, l. 5, connecting the שבי with the immigration from the land of Judah, speaks in favour of "captivity."

[2] Heb. l. 3 והנלוים עמהם representing the לוים of Ezekiel.

[3] See above, Heb. p. 2, l. 11.

[4] Cf. Gen. **49** 1, Dan. **10** 14 etc.

[5] Heb. l. 6 התגוררם. It may also mean wanderings. Cf. above, Heb. p. 2, ll. 9—12. As above reference is contained here to the history of the sect, the names of its leaders, the sufferings during their wanderings before they settled and their various activities. But unfortunately all these details were omitted by the scribe.

[6] Heb. ll. 9, 10 הקודש שונים...בעדם of which I give a literal translation, but it renders no sense. The text is evidently corrupt and before the הקודש some words are evidently missing. It is, however, possible, that we should emend הקודש שונים into הראישונים. Cf. below, ll. 9, 10, though even with this emendation the sense is not quite clear. Another possibility is that the הקודש שונים is a corruption of המקדש שומרים, "they keep the charge of the sanctuary," which is one of the functions of the sons of Zadok.

[7] See above, Heb. p. 1, l. 19.

[8] Heb. התוסרו used by this writer in the sense of instruction. Cf. Heb. p. 7, l. 5. See also Heb. Dict. See, however, p. 20, l. 31, which probably means "were chastised."

[9] Heb. l. 8 שלים corruption of שלום, cf. below, l. 10.

[10] The meaning of these last two sentences is entirely obscure. All we can see is that he contrasts his congregation with its priests, its Levites and the sons of Zadok with the wicked men who followed the איש הלצון (Heb. p. 1, l. 14) who are further accused of having justified the wicked and condemned the righteous (Heb. p. 1, l. 19). They are not entirely free from sin but they are redeemed by the fact that they follow the explanation of the Law as was understood by the forefathers (ראשונים), that is Noah and the Patriarchs (in the Book of Jubilees). Hence they obtain pardon, as their forefathers did.

[11] Heb. l. 11 אין להשתפח עוד על בית יהודה. Cf. Isa. **14** 1.

[12] Heb. כי אם לעמוד איש על מצודו (ll. 10, 11) that is to watch over the net lest he be caught.

[13] See paraphrase of Micah **7** 11 but the application is not clear to me.

[14] See Jub. **1** 20.

[15] Isa. **24** 17.

[16] Reading Heb. l. 14. Heb. פ״רו, meaning as much as פרושו. Cf. Heb. and Rab. Dictionaries, s. פשר.

[17] Heb. l. 15 אשר עליהם אמר לוי בן יעקב. Perhaps some words are missing here. In any case we have here a distinct reference to the Testament of Levi, see below note 18.

[18] Heb. ibid. l. 16 אשר הוא תפש בהם בישראל taking the הוא to refer to בליעל. Cf. Jub. **1** 20. It is however

18 The first is fornication, the second is *wealth[19], the third | is the *pollution of the
sanctuary[20]. He that fleeth from this will be ensnared by that, and he that escapeth
19 the one will be ensnared | by the other[21]. They that builded the *wall[22] who walked
after the *commanding one[23].
¶ VII 20 The commanding one is he who prophesies* | concerning which he said, "For
21 a surety they do drop words[1]." They are ensnared by two: by fornication[2], taking | two
wives during their lifetimes[3], *but the foundation of the creation[4] is, "Male and female
|| Page 5 created He them[5]." || And they who came into the Ark, "Two and two went into the
2 Ark[6]." As to the prince[7] it is written, | "He shall not multiply wives unto himself[8]."
3 *But David read not in the Book of the Law that was sealed, which | was in the Ark.
4 For it was not opened in Israel from the day of the Death of Eleazar | and Joshua[9], and
5 the Elders who worshipped Ashtareth[10]. And it was hidden | and was *not discovered[11]
until Zadok arose. But they *concealed[12] the deeds of David save only the blood
6 of Uriah[13] | and God abandoned them to him. They also contaminate the sanctuary
7 as* they | separate not[14] according to the Law and lie with her who sees the blood
8 of her issue[15]. They take | unto them a wife[16] the daughter of their brother and the

possible that the author was thinking of Ezek. **14** 4, 5 ומכשול עונו ישים נגד פניו...למען תפש את בית ישראל בלבם. To place before man the "stumbling-blocks of his iniquities" is thus a means of leading him back to righteousness. הוא would thus refer to Levi and תפש would mean by which he (Levi) "took" Israel (in their hearts).

[19] Reading Heb. l. 17 הון instead of הין. Cf. Heb. p. 6, l. 15 and p. 8, l. 5. See Jub. **23** 21.

[20] Heb. p. 4, l. 10. Reading Heb. l. 18 טמאת המ' instead of טמא. Some sort of a parallel may be found to this passage in Test. Levi, **14** 5—8, cf. ibid. **9** 9 (see also p. 229) and Jub. **30** 15, though the parallel is neither complete nor distinct enough. But it is possible that our author had a more complete text. See also Jub. **7**. 21 text and notes with reference regarding the "three things" "owing" to which "the deluge came upon the earth": fornication, uncleanness (=טומאה?) and iniquity (גזל or חמס?).

[21] See Isa. **24** 18, and Jer. **48** 44.

[22] Heb. l. 19 בוני החוץ before which expression, some words must be missing. חוץ is a corruption חַיִץ cf. Ezek. **13** 10. The writer also probably thought of Lamen. **2** 14. We have here as well as below, p. 8, l. 12, an attack on Pharisees whom he derides as fence or wall builders to protect the law whilst in truth they are the worst offenders. Possibly this denunciation is in some way connected with the accusation of Test. Levi, **14** 4, "teaching commandments contrary to the will of God."

[23] See Hos. **5** 11. הצו to יטיפון is only a disturbing parenthesis.

¶ VII

[1] See Micah **6** 6, 11. Cf. above, p. 1, l. 14; below, p. 8, l. 13; and p. 19, l. 25.

[2] Heb. l. 20 בשתים בזנות וג'. The בשתים is an anticipation of שתי נשים in the following line which the author considered as זנות. It is followed in p. 5 (l. 6) by an explanation of טומאה whilst the explanation of הון is apparently missing, being given only in general terms on p. 6, l. 15, seq.

[3] Heb. l. 21 בחייהם. The argument is evidently not only directed against polygamy, but also against divorce which certain Jewish sects forbade. Bachrach, in his *Yoreach Lemoadim*, p. 49*a*, perceives in the wording of Jub. **3** 7 (see text and notes about the versions), also a prohibition against divorce, which, however, is questionable. See also Introduction, pp. xvii and xix.

[4] Heb. l. 21 הבריאה which term for creation is rather late.

[5] Gen. **1** 27, cf. Matt. **21** 3. Aboth d'R. Nathan p. 5*a* uses the same argument of Adam against polygamy but does not give the verse.

[6] See Gen. **7** 9.

[7] Heb. l. 1 הנשיא.

[8] Deut. **17** 20.

[9] Heb. l. 4 ויהושע ויושע which is a mere dittography.

[10] See Jud. **2** 13.

[11] Reading Heb. ll. 4, 5 ויִטָּמן ולא נגלה instead of ויטמון נגלה. Another possibility is that נגלה is a corruption of מגלה and is here=ספר. To which Zadok reference is made here is difficult to say. It must in any case be a Biblical personage. See Introduction, p. xxi.

[12] Heb. l. 5 ויעלו, which I take to be a corruption of ויעלימו.

[13] See 1 Kings **15** 5, of which our author evidently does not approve.

[14] Reading l. 7 מבדילים for מבדיל.

[15] Heb. ibid. הרואה את דם וג' which is the regular Rabbinic term for menstruation. For differences between Rabbinites and Samaritans and the Karaites, see Vreschner, *Die Samaritanische Tradition*, p. 30 seq. and the references given there to Geiger and others.

[16] Reading Heb. l. 8 אשה instead of איש.

9 daughter of their sisters[17]. But Moses said, "Thou shalt not | approach the sister of thy
10 mother: she is thy mother's near kin[18]," and the law of incest[19] for males | is written,
and like them[20] are the females; and if the daughter of the brother uncovers the
11 nakedness of the brother | of her father* he[21] is a near kin. They also contaminated
12 their holy spirit[22] and with a tongue | of reproaches they opened the mouth against
the statutes of the covenant of God, saying, They are not proper. But abomination |
13 they speak concerning them. They all kindled[23] a fire and set in flames the sparks[24].
14 The weaving | of spiders are their weavings and the eggs of adders are their eggs[25].
15 He who comes near them | shall not be innocent. Like *a thing accursed shall his
16 house be guilty[26]* unless he was* forced[27]. Beforetimes[28] God *observed | their deeds
and His wrath was kindled because of their devices. For it is a people of no under-
17 standing[29]. | They are a nation void of counsel[30], because there is no understanding in
18 them[31]. For beforetimes rose[32] | Moses and Aaron through the prince of the Urim[33],
19 *when[34] Belial raised Yochaneh and | his brother[35] in his device when Israel was
delivered for the first time[36]. |

¶ VIII 20 And at the end of the destruction of the land there arose those who removed the
21 bound[1] and led astray Israel. | And the land became desolate because they have spoken
|| Page 6 rebellion[2] against the commandments of God through Moses and also || against His
2 holy Anointed one[3], and they prophesied a lie to turn away Israel from after | God.

[17] Reading Heb. ibid. אחותיהם for אחותו. It is also possible that we ought to read אחיו for אחיהם in which case it would correspond with אחותו.

[18] Heb. ll. 8, 9 אל אחות אמך לא תקרב שאר אמך היא but the nearest parallel Lev. **18** 13 reads ערות אחות אמך לא תגלה כי שאר אמך היא.

[19] Heb. l. 10 העריות which is a Rabbinic term. Cf. Rab. Dict. s.v.

[20] Heb. l. 10 וכהם as much as וכמוהם.

[21] Reading Heb. l. 11 והוא for והיא. The argument turns up often in Karaitic books if he must not marry his aunt she must not marry her uncle. Cf. Kircheim p. 28 with reference to the Samaritans. See also Hadasi, *Eshkol Hakkofer*, p. 117 c, and *Likkute Kadmonioth*, ed. Harkavy, pp. 97 and 100. See also Poznanski, *Kaufman Gedenkbuch*, 172, seq.

[22] Heb. l. 11 רוח קדשיהם. See below, p. 7, l. 7. See Dr Gaster's edition of the Will of Naphtali, P.S.B.A., 1894, p. 117, ואשרי אדם אשר לא יטנף את רוח אלהים הקדושה, Wertheimer, בתי מדרשות II. p. 14, ואשרי אדם שלא יטמא רוח אלהים שבקרבו.

[23] Heb. l. 13 קדחו which I corrected after Isa. **50** 11, קדחי.

[24] Heb. ibid. ומבערי זיקות. Isa. ibid. ומאזרי זיקות.

[25] See Isa. **59** 4, 5.

[26] Heb. l. 15 כהר ביתו יאשם which I take as a corruption of כחרם ב׳ י׳. Possibly כחר = כחררים (see Jer. **17** 6) whilst יאשם = יֵשַׁם "to be desolate" (see Hos. **14** 1). See also below, l. 21. Job **27** 18 suggests כעש ב׳ יאשם, but none of these explanations is satisfactory.

[27] That is to say, that in case of compulsion, he is exempt from punishment. Heb. ibid. כי אם נלחץ. I hardly need repeat here that the explanation of such corrupt texts is merely tentative.

[28] The Heb. equivalent Ibid. למילפנים (l. 17 מלפנים) is preceded by the words כי אם which I omitted as a mere dittography.

[29] See Isa. **27** 11. [30] Deut. **32** 28.

[31] See Deut. ibid. ואין בהם תבונה.

[32] Heb. l. 17 עמד. Possibly it is a corruption of עזר "helped." The connection of the following lines with the preceding is not clear to me.

[33] Heb. l. 18 שר האורים. Perhaps it is a corruption of שר הפנים "the prince of the Presence" who helped Moses against the devices of Belial (or Mastema), cf. Jub. **48** 2 and 9. Cf. especially ibid. *v.* 4, "And I delivered thee out of his (Mastema's) hand"; the deliverer, apparently, is the angel of the Presence, who dictates to Moses the contents of the Book of Jubilees. See Jub. **1** 27; **2** 1.

[34] Heb. ibid. ויקם which I took to mean here as much as כאשר הקים.

[35] The brother is Mamre. We have evidently here a reference to the well-known Jannes and Jambries legend. See the literature in Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, III., 1898, pp. 292—294. Cf. also *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd edition, Vol. VIII., p. 587.

[36] Heb. l. 29 את. Perhaps corruption of עת. See N.T. 2 Tim. **3** 8.

¶ VIII

[1] Cf. Heb. above, p. 1, l. 16. See also ibid. l. 5, text and notes.

[2] See Deut. **13** 6. See also below, Heb. p. 12, l. 3.

[3] Heb. l. 1 במשיחו הקודש as much as ב׳ הקדוש. Cf. above, Heb. p. 2, l. 12.

But God remembered the covenant with the forefathers[4]. And He took from Aaron*
3 men of understanding and from Israel | wise men and made them* understand[5], and
4 they digged the well[6]. "The princes digged the well; they digged it, | the nobles of
the people, by the lawgiver[7]." The well is the Law, and they who digged it are the |
5 captivity[8] of Israel who have gone forth out of the land of Judah[9] and sojourned in the
6 land of Damascus[10], | all of whom God called princes. For they sought Him and their
7 bough was not turned back | in the mouth of one[11]. And the Lawgiver is he who
8 interprets the Law concerning whom | Isaiah said, "He bringeth forth an instrument for
9 his work[12]." And the nobles of the people are they | who came to dig the well by the
10 precepts[13] which the Lawgiver ordained | to walk in *them[14] for all end of the wicked-
11 ness[15]. And they shall reach *nothing beside them[16] until there will arise[17] | the teacher
of righteousness[18] in the end of the days. And all they who were brought[19] into
12 the covenant | they shall not enter into the Sanctuary to kindle His altar, and
13 be shutting | the door, concerning whom God said, "Who is there among you who
14 would shut the doors[20], neither do you kindle my altar | for naught[21]." If[22] they
will not observe to do[23] according to the interpretation of the Law, until the end
15 of the wickedness[24], and to separate | from the children of destruction[25], and to
separate from the wealth of wickedness which is contaminated by a vow and
16 curse[26], | and *from[27] the wealth of the sanctuary, and rob the poor of his people
17 (so that) widows be their prey, | and they murder the fatherless and [28]to distinguish
18 between clean and unclean[29] and to make known between | the holy and the
profane, and to observe the Sabbath according to its interpretation and the feasts |

[4] See Lev. **26** 45. See also above, p. 1, l. 4, and below, p. 8, l. 17.

[5] Heb. l. 3 וישמעם corruption of וישמיעם. The word may also be read וישביעם "he made them take an oath."

[6] See above, Heb. p. 3, l. 16.

[7] Heb. l. 4 במחוקק. Cf. Num. **21** 18, or by the direction of the Lawgiver.

[8] Heb. l. 5 שבי. See above, Heb. p. 4, l. 2, text and notes.

[9] Cf. above, Heb. p. 4, ll. 2, 3.

[10] See below, Heb. l. 19.

[11] Heb. ll. 6, 7 ולא הושבה פארתם בפי אחד, of which the last twelve words are a literal translation but give no sense. Perhaps we should read ו' השברה פ' בפרי אחד. Cf. Ezek. **31** 12. The meaning would be that their searching in or interpreting of the Law had not the effect of breaking the bough by a single fruit, that is did not result in any heresy. Cf. the Rabbinic phrase קצץ בנטיעות and see Rab. Dict. s. נטיעה and s. קצץ.

[12] Isa. **54** 16.

[13] Heb. l. 9 במחוקקות=חוקים. More probable is that we had here במשענות כאשר. Cf. Num. **21** 18.

[14] Reading in Heb. l. 10 בהם for במה. This word can also be read כמה.

[15] Heb. ibid. בכל קץ הרשיע. The last word I took to be a corruption of הרשע. Cf. Ezek. **21** 30. Cf. below, Heb. p. 12, l. 23; 15, l. 7 and p. 20, l. 23. It seems that sometimes the term means as much as the beginning of repentance, but in other places it has to be taken as meaning till the end of the wickedness in general preceding the advent of the Teacher of Righteousness.

[16] Heb. ibid. וזולתם that is any new things not included in בהם as dictated by the Lawgiver shall not be reached before the end of the days. Cf. also Prov. **2** 19. The Teacher of Righteousness is expected to rise again, when he will appear in the same capacity, or in that of the Anointed (cf. p. 12, l. 23 and p. 20, ll. 1 and 32).

[17] See Ezra **2** 63 and Nehem. **7** 65.

[18] See above, Heb. p. 1, l. 11 and p. 3, l. 8.

[19] Heb. l. 11 הובאו, instead of באו. Cf. above, Heb. p. 2, l. 2, text and notes. Special rules of conduct as well as ritual observances are, as it seems, prescribed for the members of the Sect wishing to enjoy the privilege of entering the sanctuary; otherwise, the doors are shut before them.

[20] Mal. **1** 10 מי גם בכם ויסגור דלתים whilst our text, Heb. l. 13, omits גם and reads by mistake דלתו.

[21] Mal. ibid.

[22] Here, as it seems, begins the set of rules to which the men of the Covenant were pledged, given mostly in a negative way. The diction is very awkward, and there may be some words missing.

[23] See Deut. **12***a*.

[24] Cf. above, note 15.

[25] Cf. Jub. **16** 26, a metaphor which may have been suggested by Isaiah **1** 4.

[26] See Heb. l. 15 בנדר וחרם which may also mean that they shall take a vow etc. to be separated from etc.

[27] Reading Heb. l. 16 ומהון instead of ובהון. Cf. above, p. 4, l. 17, and cf. also Test. Levi, **14** 5.

[28] See Isa. **10** 2 and Ps. **94** 6.

[29] See Lev. **11** 47. Cf. Jub. **6** 37.

19 and the day of fast[30]* according to the command[31] of them who entered in to the
20 New Covenant[32] in the land of Damascus. | To raise their offerings according to their
21 interpretation[33], to love every one his neighbour | as himself[34], and to strengthen the hand
|| Page 7 of the poor and the needy and the stranger[35], and to seek every one the peace || of
his neighbour. And no man shall commit treason against his nearest of kin,
2 separating himself from *fornication[36] | according to the Law[37]. To admonish every
3 one his neighbour according to the Law[38], and not to bear a grudge | from day to
day[39], and to separate from all the contaminations according to their laws[40]. And
4 no man shall defile | his holy spirit[41], *(even) as God did separate them[42]. All
5 they who walk | in these things in the perfection of holiness[43] according to all the
*instructions[44], the covenant of God

Text A

6 *stands fast to them[45] | to preserve them for a
thousand generations.

¶ IX And if they settle in camps in accordance
7 with the *usage[1] of the land and take | wives
and beget children they shall walk according to
8 the Law, and according to | the *foundations[2]
according to the usage of the Law as He had
spoken, "between man and his wife and between
9 father | and his son[3]." But upon all them that

Text B = Page 19 in the Hebrew

stands fast to them to preserve them for thousands
of *generations*[1]. *As it is written[2], "He keepeth
the covenant and mercy | with them who love 2
Him[3] and keep His[4] commandments for a
thousand generations."
But if they settle in camps according to the ¶ IX
laws | *of the land* which *were[5] from old *and take* 3
wives in accordance with the usage of the Law
and beget children | *they *shall walk[6] according to* 4
the Law and according to the foundations according to the usage of the Law | *as He had spoken* 5
"*between man and his wife and between father
and his son.*" *But upon all them that despise* | the 6

[30] That is the Day of Atonement.

[31] Heb. l. 19 . . במצא, some letter missing in the MS. which I read כמצות.

[32] See Jer. **31** 30. Cf. also N. T. 1 Cor. **11** 25; Heb. **8** 8.

[33] Referring probably to differences in the question of tithes. Cf. Jub. **32** 11.

[34] See Lev. **19** 18. Cf. also Jub. **7** 2, **36** 4—8; Test. Simon, **4** 7; Issachar, **5** 2, **7** 6; Dan. **4** 3; Gad, **4** 2; Benjamin, **2** 3; N.T. John **13** 34, **15** 12; Romans **12** 10. Cf. Schürer, III. p. 347, note 91 (3rd ed.).

[35] See Ezek. **16** 49.

[36] Reading Heb. l. 7 הזנות, instead of הזונות. Cf. above, p. 2, l. 16, and p. 4, l. 20.

[37] That is according to the law of the Sect forbidding polygamy and marriage after divorce. See above, p. 4, ll. 20, 21, text and notes.

[38] See Lev. **19** 17. Cf. below, p. 9, l. 2.

[39] See Lev. ibid. See N.T. Romans **12** 19.

[40] See Ezra **6** 21.

[41] See above, Heb. p. 5, l. 11.

[42] Heb. l. 4 להם. The הבדיל refers to the thing טמא. Cf. Lev. **20** 25.

[43] Heb. l. 5 בתמים קדש. Cf. below, Heb. p. 20, ll. 2, 5.

[44] Heb. l. 5 יסורו, corruption of יסורים, in the sense of instructions. Cf. above, p. 4, l. 8. See, however, below, Heb. l. 8, the possibility of יסודים.

Text A

[45] Heb. l. 5 נאמנות. Cf. below, Heb. p. 14, l. 2. Cf. Ps. **89** 29 suggesting the emendation נאמנת.

¶ IX

[1] Heb. l. 6 כסרך meaning custom, usage. See Rab. Dict. s. סרך and סירכא. Cf. below, p. 10, l. 4, etc.

[2] Reading with Text B היסודים instead of היסורים, though the latter meaning "instructions" is not impossible.

[3] See Num. **30** 17 which however read בין אב לבתו. Cf. below, p. 16, l. 10, seq., which is really a continuation of the same law, breaking up in this place abruptly.

Text B

[1] See Heb. p. 7, l. 6. The italics throughout denote agreement between Text A and Text B.

[2] Heb. l. 1 ככ = ככתוב. Cf. Josh. **8** 31 etc.

[3] Heb. l. 2 לאהב. The line over the word is probably a sign of abbreviation (לאהביו). Cf. Deut. **7** 9.

[4] Reading with Deut. ibid. מצותיו for מצותי, which is also indicated by the line over the word.

¶ IX

[5] Reading Heb. l. 3 היו for היה.

[6] Heb. l. 4 ויתהלכו.

Text A

despise[4]...when God will bring a visitation
upon the land will be returned the desert of
10 the wicked; | when there will come to pass
the word which is written in the words of Isaiah
11 the son of Amoz the prophet | who said, *"He
will bring[5] upon thee and upon thy people and
12 upon thy father's house days that | have* not[6]
come from the day[7] that Ephraim departed
from Judah." When the two houses of Israel[8]
13 separated | Ephraim* turned away[9] from Judah,
and those who turned back were delivered to
14 the sword and those who held fast[10] | escaped
into the land of the North. As He said, "And
I will cause to go into captivity[11] Siccuth your
15 King | and Chiyun your images[12], from the tents
of Damascus[13]." The books of the Law are the
16 Tent | of the King, as He said, "And I will raise
up the tent of David that is fallen[14]." The King |
17 is the congregation and Chiyun the images[15] are
18 the books of the Prophets | whose words Israel
has despised[16], and the Star[17] is he who explained
19 the Law | who came to Damascus, as it is written,
"There came forth a Star out of Jacob and a
20 sceptre shall rise | out of Israel[18]." The Sceptre

Text B

commandments and the statutes *will be returned
the desert of the wicked; when God will bring
a visitation upon the land,* | *when there will* 7
come to pass the word which is written by the
hand of Zechariah, *the prophet*, "O sword,
awake, against | my shepherd and against the 8
man that is my fellow, says God[7], smite the
shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered, |
and I will turn mine hand upon the little 9
ones." And they that watch him are the
poor of the flock[8]. | *These shall escape at the* 10
end of the visitation[9], *and they that* remain
will be delivered to the sword, when there will
come the Anointed | * from Aaron and Israel[10]. 11
As it was at the end of the first visitation
concerning which *He[11] spoke | through Ezekiel 12
to mark a mark upon the foreheads of them

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[4] Supply from Text B "the commandments and the statutes."

[5] Heb. l. 11 יבוא whilst Isa. **7** 17 from which this verse is taken has יביא ה׳ which is reproduced in our translation.

[6] Supplying from Isa. ibid. לא before באו in Heb. l. 11.

[7] Heb. l. 12 מיום, Isa. ibid. למיום.

[8] See Isa. **8** 15.

[9] Reading Heb. l. 13 סר instead of שר.

[10] Heb. ibid. והמחזיקים. Cf. above, Heb. p. 3, l. 12, and below, p. 8, l. 2, according to which we should supply at least באלה.

[11] Heb. l. 14 והגליתי, but Amos **5** 26 from where the verse is taken has ונשאתם "And you have borne."

[12] Here we must supply from Amos, ibid. כוכב אלהיכם אשר עשיתם לכם. "The Star of your god which ye made to yourselves" as is evident from Heb. l. 18 below.

[13] Heb. l. 15 מאהלי דמשק, but Amos, ibid. מהלאה לדמשק "beyond Damascus."

[14] Amos **9** 11, but there it reads ביום ההוא אקים instead of והקימותי, Heb. l. 16.

[15] Heb. l. 17 וכינוי הצלמים וכיון הצלמים of which the first two words are a clerical error corrected by the scribe himself.

[16] See Test. Levi, **16** 2.

[17] See above, note 12.

[18] Num. **24** 17. Cf. Test. Levi, **17** 3 and reference in the notes.

[7] Heb. l. 8 אל, whilst Zechariah **13** 7, from where this entire verse is taken, has in this place ה׳ צבאות.

[8] See Zechariah **11** 7.

[9] See Text A, l. 21.

[10] Reading Heb. l. 11 מאהרן ומישראל instead of אהרן וישראל. Cf. below, Heb. p. 20, l. 1.

[11] Reading Heb. l. 11 הוא for יחזקאל which is a mere clerical error come in through the יחזקאל in the next line.

TEXT A

is the prince of all the congregation, and when
21 he will rise "he will destroy | all the children of
Seth[19]." These escaped[20] at the end of the first
|| Page 8 visitation[21], || and those who removed back
were delivered to the sword[22]. And this also
will be the judgment of all of them who have
2 entered into his covenant who | will not hold
fast to these[23] to visit them *with[24] destruction
through the hand of Belial. This is the day |
3 on which God shall visit[25]. The princes of
Judah were *like them that remove the bound.
Upon them I will pour out my wrath like
4 water[26]. | For they became diseased incurably[27]
and they *crushed them[28]. *They are all rebels[29],
5 because they turned not out of the way | of the
traitors and they *wallowed[30] in the ways of
harlots and in the wealth of wickedness[31] and
6 (in) revenge and every man bearing grudge | to
his brother and every man hating his neighbour[32]. And they *committed treason[33] every
7 man against his next of kin | and were joined to
unchastity[34] and *sold themselves to wealth and
gain*[35], every man of them did that which
8 was right in his own eyes[36]. | And they chose

[19] Num. ibid.

[20] Heb. l. 21 מלטו for נמלטו. See Text B, l. 10.

[21] Heb. הראשון for הראשונה.

[22] See above, p. 1, l. 17.

[23] Supply from Text B, "to these statutes."

[24] Heb. l. 3 לכלה "to destruction."

[25] Supply here from Text B, "as he has spoken."

[26] Our text, Heb. l. 4 is defective and corrupt, omitting the words כמסיגי גבול after יהודה and reading אשר תשפוך עליהם עברה for עליהם אשפוך כמים עברתי. The translation is after Hos. **5** 10 and Text B.

[27] Reading Heb. l. 4 לאין מרפא. Cf. 1 Chron. **21** 18. See also Hos. **5** 13.

[28] Heb. ibid. וידקמום. Perhaps a corruption of וירכאום.

[29] Reading Heb. ibid. כולמו instead of כל.

[30] Heb. l. 5 ויתגוללו. Cf. above, Heb. p. 3, l. 17.

[31] See above, Heb. p. 6, l. 15.

[32] See above, Heb. p. 7, l. 2.

[33] Reading Heb. l. 6 וימעלו instead of ויתעלמו. Cf. above, Heb. p. 7, l. 1. It is also possible that it is a corruption of ויתעלסו. Cf. Prov. **6** 18.

[34] Heb. l. 7 ויגשו לזמה.

[35] Heb. l. 7 ויתנכרו להין which I took to be a corruption of ויתמכרו להון. See however Text B.

[36] Cf. above, Heb. p. 3, l. 6.

TEXT B

that sigh and cry[12], | but they that remain will 13
be *delivered to the sword* that avengeth the
vengeance of the covenant[13]. *And this also will*
be the judgment of all of them who have entered | *into* 14
the covenant who will not hold fast to these statutes
to visit them with destruction through the hand of
Belial. | *This is the day on which God shall visit,* 15
as He has spoken, "*The princes of Judah were*
like them that remove | *the bound. Upon them I* 16
will pour out **my wrath*[14] *like water.* Because
they entered[15] into the covenant of repentance |
and *yet *they turned not out of the way of the* 17
traitors and they dealt wantonly in *the ways of*
*harlot*ry *and in the wealth of wickedness* | *and in* 18
revenge and every man bearing grudge to his
brother, and every man hating his neighbour. And
they **committed treason*[16] *every man* | *against his* 19
next of kin and were joined to unchastity and they
were mighty[17] *for wealth and gain, and every*
man | *of them did that which was right in his* 20
own eyes, and chose the stubbornness of his heart,

[12] See Ezek. **9** 4.

[13] See Lev. **26** 25.

[14] Reading Heb. l. 16 עברתי (for עברה). See Hos. **5** 10 from where this verse is taken.

[15] The meaning is, "*though* they entered."

[16] Reading Heb. l. 18 וימעלו for ויתעלמו. Cf. note 29, Text A.

[17] Heb. l. 19 ויתגברו. Cf. Isa. **5** 22.

Text A

every man in the stubbornness of his heart[37]
and they separated not from the people[38]. And
9 they cast off restraint with an high hand | to
walk in the way of the wicked; concerning whom
God said, "Their wine is the poison of dragons |
10 and the head of asps that is cruel[39]." The
dragons are the kings of the nations and their
11 wine is | their ways, and the head of the asps
is the head of the kings of Javan[40], who came
12 to execute vengeance upon them. | But upon all
these things they meditated not who builded
the *wall[41] and daubed it with untempered
13 mortar. For | one confused of spirit[42] and who
dropped lies prophesied to them[43] that the wrath
of God was kindled against all His congrega-
14 tion[44] | and what Moses said, "Not for thy
righteousness or for the uprightness of thine
15 heart dost thou go to inherit | these nations[45],
but because He loved thy fathers and because
16 He would keep the oath[46]." | And so is the law
for the captivity[47] of Israel who turned out of
the way of the people[48]. Through the love of God
17 of | the forefathers who *aroused the people
toward Him[49], He loved them that came after
18 them. For to them | is the covenant of the
fathers, but in his hatred[50] of them who builded
the[51] *wall His wrath was kindled. And like unto

Text B

and they separated not from the people | and 21
their sins. *And they cast off restraint with an
high hand to walk in the ways of the wicked;
concerning whom* | *God said*, '*Their wine is the* 22
*poison of dragons, and the head of asps that is
cruel.*' *The dragons* | *are the kings of the nations* 23
*and the wine is their ways, and the head of asps is
the head* | *of the kings of Javan who came to execute* 24
*vengeance upon them. But upon all these things
they meditated not who builded* | *the wall and* 25
daubed it with untempered mortar. For the *man
walking in wind[18] and weighing storms the
prophet of *man[19] | to lie *that the wrath of God* 26
*was kindled against all his congregation, and
what Moses said* | to Israel, '*Not for thy right-* 27
*eousness or for the uprightness of thine heart dost
thou go to inherit these nations,* | *but because He* 28
*loved thy fathers and because He would keep the
oath.*' *So* | *is the law for the captivity of Israel* 29
**who*[20] *turned out of the way of the people.
Through the love of God of the forefathers* | *who* 30
**aroused the people toward*[21] God* and *he
loved them that came after them, for to them* |
is the covenant of the fathers. But God *hates* and 31
despises *them who builded the wall and His wrath
was kindled* against them and against all | who 32

[37] See above, Heb. p. 3, l. 5.

[38] Supply here from Text B "and their sins."

[39] Deut. 32 33.

[40] Heb. l. 11 יון = Greece, relating either to Alexander or Antiochus?

[41] Reading החיץ instead of החוץ. Cf. above, Heb. p. 4, l. 19, text and notes.

[42] Heb. l. 13 מבוהל which reading is however doubtful.

[43] See above, Heb. p. 1, l. 14.

[44] Perhaps there are missing at the beginning of Heb. l. 14 ולא זכרו אשר. They remembered not what Moses etc.

[45] See Deut. 9 5 omitting however here after את the words ארצם כי ברשעת.

[46] Cf. Deut. 7 8 which however reads כי מאהבת ה' אתכם ומשמרו. This looks almost as an intentional alteration of the text.

[47] See above, p. 4, l. 2, text and notes.

[48] See above, l. 8 ולא נזרו מעם.

[49] Heb. l. 17 הועירו. Supplying from Text B העם.

[50] Reading l. 18 ובשונאו instead of ובשונאי and supplying בם after אפו.

[51] Reading החיץ for החוץ. See above, p. 4, l. 19, text and notes.

[18] Heb. l. 25 הולך רוח. Cf. Micah 2 11.

[19] Heb. ibid. מטיף אדם. Micah ibid. however has מ' העם.

[20] Supplying Heb. l. 29 אשר before סרו.

[21] Heb. l. 30 העידו. Perhaps the writer took it from יעד "to gather after," but which can also be read העירו. The על gives no meaning in either way. Possibly העידו is right, in which case we should have to translate the passage, "who bore witness against the people (and) for God."

TEXT A

19 this judgment | it will be for everyone who de-
spises the commandments of God, and He for-
sook them and they turned away in the stubborn-
20 ness of their heart. | This is the word which
Jeremiah has spoken to Baruch the son of
21 Neriah, and Elisha | to his servant Gehazi. All
the men who entered into the New Covenant in
the land of Damascus[52].

[52] See above, p. 6, l. 19. Here is a break in the MS.

TEXT B

walk after them. *And like unto this judgment*
it will be for every one who despises the command-
ments of God, | *and He forsook them and they* 33
turned away in the stubbornness of their heart.
So are *all the men who entered in to the New*
Covenant | *in the land of Damascus* but they turned 34
and committed treason and turned away from
the spring of living waters. | *'They *shall not 35
be[22] counted in the assembly of people, and in
its writing[23] *they shall not be written.' From
the day when there was gathered in[24] || the only || Page 20
teacher until there will arise the Anointed from
Aaron and from Israel[25]. And this is also the Law |
for all that entered into the congregation of men 2
of perfection of holiness[26], but he will * cease[27]
accomplishing the statutes that are upright. | He 3
is the man who is melted in the furnace. When
his deeds will appear[28] he shall be expelled from
the congregation | as though his lot had not 4
fallen among them that are taught by God[29].
According to his treason they shall record him[30]
* with the men | of * perversion[31] until he will 5
come back to stay in the station of the men of
perfect holiness. | And when his deeds shall 6
appear according to the interpretation of the
Law in which walk | the men of perfection of 7
holiness, no man shall * profit[32] him in wealth
and labour, | for the saints of the Most High have 8
cursed him. And like this judgment shall be to
everyone who despises both among them who

[22] Heb. l. 35 לא יחשבו. Of the לא, only very faint traces remain.

[23] Heb. ibid. ובכתבו. The paper is torn and faded in this place but the reading is fairly certain. Cf. Ez. **18** 9, from where this verse is taken.

[24] Heb. ibid. האסף meaning "died." This word is followed by יור and מורה which are both cancelled.

[25] See Heb. above, p. 19, ll. 10, 11.

[26] Heb. l. 2 תמים הקדש. Cf. above, Heb. p. 7, l. 5.

[27] Heb. ibid. יקוץ which I took as coming from קצץ. It may of course be derived from קוץ "to abhor," "to despise," but the first seems to me to be more probable.

[28] Heb. l. 3 בהופע. Cf. below, l. 6. I think however that in both these cases it is a corruption of בהורע "deteriorate." The בהופע may have come in from below, l. 25.

[29] See Isa. **54** 13.

[30] Heb. l. 4 יזכירוהו, which was probably followed by עם.

[31] Heb. l. 5 מעות. See Heb. Dict. s. עות.

[32] Heb. l. 7 יאות. See Heb. and Rab. Dict. s. אות. Here it means probably to "associate."

Text B

were before | and among them who came after[33], 9
who placed idols upon their hearts and walked in
the stubbornness | of their hearts. They have 10
no share in the house of the Law. Like the
judgment of their neighbours who returned | with 11
the men of scoffing[34] they shall be judged. For
they uttered error against the statutes of right-
eousness and despised | the covenant and the 12
pledge of faith which they have affirmed in the
land of Damascus; and this is the New Covenant[35].|
And there shall not be unto them or unto their 13
families a share in the house of the Law. And
from the day | when there was gathered in the 14
only teacher[36] until all the men of the war were
wasted who walked | with the man of lies about 15
forty years[37]. And at the end of these there will
be kindled | the wrath of God against Israel as 16
He said, 'There is no King, and no prince[38],'
*and no Judge, and none | rebuking in righteous- 17
ness[39]. And they who turn from sin...[40] who
observed the covenant of God......man|......his 18
brother He will support their steps in the way of
God. 'And God hearkened | and heard and a 19
book of remembrance was written before Him
for them that fear God and think | upon His 20
name[41]'......until there will be brought up[42]
salvation and righteousness for them who fear[43]
God. Then shall ye return and discern between
the righteous | and wicked, between them that 21
served Him[44] and them that served Him not."

[33] Heb. ll. 8, 9 לכל המאם בראשונים ובאחרונים. The meaning is not quite clear whether the despiser is one of the בראשונים etc. or the ראשונים etc. were the object of his contempt.

[34] Heb. l. 11 אנשי הלצון. Cf. Heb. p. 1, l. 14.

[35] Cf. above, Heb. p. 6, l. 19 and p. 8, l. 21.

[36] Heb. l. 14 יוריה. Cf. above, Heb. p. 3, l. 8 and p. 6, l. 11.

[37] Heb. l. 15 כשנים ארבעים. See above, Heb. p. 1, l. 10 שנים עשרים.

[38] See Hos. **3** 4.

[39] This quotation כאשר אמר וכו' (Heb. ll. 15, 16) must rest on some confusion by the scribe of Biblical verses such as Isa. **11** 4 and Hosea **3** 4.

[40] After the word פשע Heb. l. 15 we have a trace of a י which may have been the beginning of יעקב. Cf. Is. **59** 21 (ביעקב).

[41] See Mal. **3** 16.

[42] Heb. l. 20 יעלה.

[43] Heb. ibid. ושבתם וראיתם, etc. The largest part of this line is faded, but the reading as given in the text is fairly certain. Cf. Mal. **3** 18.

[44] Heb. l. 21 עבד. Traces of letters follow which

TEXT B

"And showeth mercy *unto thousands[45] of them
that love Him | and unto them that observe 22
*His commandments[46] for a thousand genera-
tions," from the *house of Peleg[47] that have
gone out from the city of the sanctuary. | And 23
they confided in God at the end of the treason
of Israel and they polluted the Sanctuary and
they came back unto God. | The *prince of the 24
people[48] with few words[49]...according to His spirit
they shall be judged...in the counsel | of holi- 25
ness. And all they who broke through the
bound of the Law of those who entered into the
covenant when there will shine forth | the glory 26
of God to Israel they will be cut off from among
the camp and with them all they who do
wickedly[50] | of Judah in the days of its trial[51]. But 27
all they who hold steadfast to these laws to go
out | and to come in according to the Law and 28
listen to the voice of the teacher and shall confess
before God...we | are guilty, we and our fathers 29
because they walked contrary[52] unto the laws of
the covenant | and true is thy judgment against 30
us. And they will not lift the hand against
His holy statutes, His righteous judgment | and 31
the testimony[53] of His truth. And they will be
chastised by the first judgments in which | the 32
children of the men of the only one were
judged. And they will listen to the voice of
the teacher of righteousness. And they will not
*answer[54] | the statutes of righteousness when 33
they hear them. They will rejoice and be glad

may be taken as a ו. They may also be taken as a ל, which would be the remainder of אל. See Mal. ibid.

[45] See Exod. **20** 6 which the scribe partly confused with Deut. **7** 9. See above, Heb. p. 19, l. 17. After חסד Heb. l. 21 there is space for לאלפים.

[46] Heb. l. 21 ולשמריו, omitting by mistake the word מצותיו.

[47] Heb. l. 22 מבית פלג, reading doubtful. Before these words a space of nearly two words appears blank, but no traces of letters are visible.

[48] Heb. l. 24 נסיך, but only the נ and the ך are certain.

[49] Heb. l. 24 בדברים מעט, but the reading is doubtful.

[50] Heb. l. 27 מרשיעי, probably as much as רשעי.

[51] Heb. l. 27 מצרפותיו.

[52] See Lev. **26** 21.

[53] Heb. l. 31 ועדוות. Cf. above, Heb. p. 3, l. 15.

[54] Heb. l. 32 ישיבו "answer" or rather "contradict."

TEXT B

and their hearts will exult[55] and they will show
themselves mighty | against all the children of 34
the world, and God will make atonement for
them and they will see[56] His salvation for they
put their trust in His holy name.

[55] Reading Heb. l. 33 ויעלז for ויעזו.
[56] Heb. l. 54 ור being a remainder of וראו.

¶ X || Page 9 Any man who will destroy a man[1]* in accordance with the statutes of the
2 gentiles* so that he is to be *put to death[2], | *it is concerning him[3] that He said,
"Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people[4]." And
3 every man of them who hath *entered[5] | into the Covenant who shall bring a* charge[6]
4 against his neighbour which is not* proved[7] before witnesses | and* shall beat[8] him in
his fierce wrath or *speak against him *to his elders so as to insult him, is taking
5 vengeance and bearing grudge; | but it is only written, "He [9]will take vengeance of
6 his adversaries and He is bearing grudge against His enemies." | If he held his
peace from day to day [10]but in his fierce wrath he spake against him in a matter
7 concerning death[11] | his* sin is upon him[12] because he did not fulfil the commandment
8 of God who said to him, "Thou shalt surely rebuke | thy neighbour[13] and not suffer
9 sin upon him." As to the oath concerning which | He said "thy hand shall not help
10 thee[14]," if a man will make *another *man swear in the open field[15] | —that is not* in
the presence of[16] the judges or their word[17]—his hand has helped him. And he who
11 has lost | (anything), and it is not known who has stolen it from the* Tent[18] of
12 the camp in which the thing has been stolen, its owner shall* proclaim[19] | it by
the oath of cursing[20], and whoso hears, if he knows and utters it not, he shall be
13 guilty[21]. | In any* recompense made[22] for that which has no owners he who makes

¶ X

[1] Heb. l. 1 יחרים אדם מאדם. The מאדם I took to be a dittography. The expression was probably suggested by Lev. **27** 29 כל חרם אשר יחרם מן האדם.

[2] Heb. ibid. להמית that is according to the laws of the גוים. I take this law to contain a prohibition against acknowledging the jurisdiction of the gentiles (ערכאות של גוים) which is also forbidden by Rabbinic law. Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilcoth Sanhedrin*, ch. 26, § 7, text and reference given by the commentators.

[3] Heb. ibid. הוא followed by ואשר, Heb. l. 2 which I read אשר.

[4] See Lev. **27** 28. Cf. above, Heb. p. 7, l. 2.

[5] Reading Heb. l. 2 מבאי instead of מביאי.

[6] Heb. l. 3 דבר. Cf. Deut. **22** 20. See also Heb. Dict. s. v.

[7] Heb. ibid. בהוכח. Cf. below, l. 18. Cf. Test. Gad, **4** 2, 5, to which our text seems to be a partial parallel.

[8] Heb. l. 4 והביאו, corruption of והכהו.

[9] The verse in Nahum **1** 2 reproduced here reads נוקם ה׳ לצריו, our scribe avoiding the Tetragrammaton.

[10] Cf. Num. **30** 15.

[11] Heb. l. 6 בדבר מות meaning perhaps that he accuses him of a capital offence. It is however possible we should read here אמת for מות, that is even if it be true.

[12] Reading Heb. l. 7 עונו בו for ענה בה.

[13] Heb. l. 8 רעך, but Lev. **19** 7 reproduced here has עמיתך.

[14] See 1 Sam. **25** 26 and 31, where the הושע ידך לך is considered an act of violence amounting to bloodshed. Cf. *Baba Kama*, 27*b*, and *Tur*, *Choshen Mishpath*, S 4, where the principle of עביד איניש דינא לנפשיה.

[15] See Lev. **14** 7 etc.

[16] Reading Heb. l. 10 לפני instead of לפנים.

[17] Heb. ibid. מאמרם that is the decision of the judges.

[18] Reading Heb. l. 11 ממועד (=אהל מעד) instead of ממאר.

[19] Reading ibid. ישמיע instead of ישביע and taking בעליו ibid. as the subject. For a somewhat similar institution in Rabbinic Judaism see *Baba Mezia* 28*b*.

[20] Cf. Num. **5** 21.

[21] See Lev. **5** 1.

[22] That is, for a מעל.

14 the recompense[23] shall confess to the priest, | and it shall all belong to him, besides
the ram of the guilt offering. And so everything lost that was found and has no |
15–16 owners it shall belong to the priests, for he who* found it[24] knows not its law. | If
its owners were not found they shall keep it in trust. If a man acts treacherously |
17 against any law and his neighbour sees it and he is only one—if it be a charge of
18 death he shall make it known* | in his presence to the Censor, proving[25] it to him.
19 And the Censor shall write it down with his hand; until he will do it | again before
one, *and then he shall come back and make it known to the Censor. If he will
20 be caught again before | another, his sentence shall be finished[26]. And if they are two
21 and they witness* against | him in another thing[27] the man shall be only excluded
22 from the Purity[28], if they are trustworthy. | And on the day on which the man sees
it he shall make it known to the Censor. And according* to the statute...[29] two |
23 trustworthy witnesses, and through one* witness to exclude* from the Purity. And
|| Page 10 there shall rise no || * witness[30] before the judges to kill at his mouth[31] whose days
2 were not fulfilled to pass | among them that are numbered[32]* and who fears* not[33]
3 God. No man shall be* believed as a witness against his neighbour | who transgresses
a word of the commandment with a high hand until he was worthy to repent[34]. |
¶ XI 4 And this is the usage[1] of the judges of the congregation[2]. Ten men selected[3] |
5 of the congregation according to the *age[4]; four of the tribe of Levi and Aaron
6 and six of Israel | learned in the Book of *the Hagu[5] and in the foundations of the
7 covenant, from five | and twenty years old even unto sixty years old[6]. But none shall
8 be appointed after he be | from sixty years old and above to judge the congregation.
9 For through the unfaithfulness of man | his days* diminished[7], and when the wrath of

[23] Heb. l. 14 המוֹשב participle *hifil* of שוב. Perhaps it is a corruption of המשיב. Supplying, of course, האשם. Cf. for the law Num. **5** 8 of which our text looks almost like a paraphrase.

[24] Heb. l. 15 מוצאיה for מוצאה.

[25] Heb. l. 18 בהוכיח למבקר. Cf. above, l. 3. The office of the מבקר a sort of censor or inquisitor is unknown otherwise.

[26] Heb. l. 20 שלם משפטו. This third אחד or אחר (l. 20) is apparently the third witness.

[27] Heb. l. 21 דבר אחר, in contradistinction of דבר מות (?). The meaning of this law and the one that follows is not clear to me. It would seem as if in the case of death our Text insists upon three witnesses, whilst in other cases, punished only by the exclusion from the טהרה, two witnesses are sufficient; whilst the words, "and through one witness to exclude from the Purity," in l. 23, perhaps refer back to the case of death, that the evidence even of one witness has the result of exclusion from the Purity.

[28] Heb. ibid. הטהרה meaning perhaps the Camp or the congregation. Cf. Heb. p. 12, ll. 5, 6.

[29] Heb. l. 22 ועל החוק. The latter word I first read ההון by mistake. The MS. is faded and the middle of the next word is partly torn away, only a י being visible at the beginning. The remaining letters are כלו. I can only suggest that it is a remainder of יקבלו "they shall accept," but there is no trace of the leg of the Kof.

[30] Reading Heb. l. 1 עיד or עד for עוד. Cf. Deut. **19** 15.

[31] See Deut. **17** 6.

[32] That is, who have not reached the age of twenty-five. Cf. Exod. **30** 13 and 14. Cf. below, l. 6.

[33] Supplying before ירא Heb. l. 2, the word ולא.

[34] Heb. l. 3 עד זכו לשוב "to do repentance." Cf. also Num. **15** 30 ביד רמה "presumptuously."

¶ XI

[1] Heb. l. 4 סרך. Cf. above, Heb. p. 7, l. 6.

[2] This word העדה, Heb. l. 4, is followed by עד which I took as mere dittography.

[3] Heb. l. 5 ברורים. Cf. *Jer. Kiddushin*, 66*a*, הברורין שבאחיך with reference to the appointment of officers.

[4] Heb. l. 5 העת. It may also mean "for the time being."

[5] Heb. l. 6 בספר ההגו. Cf. Ps. **49** 4 והגות, "meditation." What is understood by this הגו, whether a special book of the sect or the regular Scriptures I am unable to say.

[6] Cf. Num. **8** 24 and Lev. **27** 7.

[7] Reading Heb. l. 9 ימיו for ימו.

God* was kindled[8] against the inhabitants of the earth, he said to remove[9] their |
10 minds before they shall complete their days[10].
¶ XII 11 As to be cleansed in water. No | man shall wash in filthy waters or not sufficient[1]
12 for *immersion[2] of a man. | None shall cleanse himself in the *waters[3] of a vessel.
13 And every pool in a rock in which there is not sufficient | water for* immersion which
an unclean person has touched, its waters shall be contaminated *like[4] the waters
of the vessel. |
¶ XIII 14 As to the Sabbath to keep it according to its law, no man shall do work on the sixth
15–16 day | from the time in which the globe of the sun[1] | is removed from the gate in its
17 *fulness[2], for it is He who said, "Keep the | Sabbath day to sanctify it[3]." And on the
18 day of the Sabbath no man shall utter a word | of *folly[4]. And surely none shall
demand any debt of his neighbour[5]. None shall judge on matters of property, and gain[6]. |
19 None shall speak on matters of work and labour to be done on the following morning[7]. |
20–21 No man shall walk in the field to do the work of *his affairs[8] | on *the day[9] of the
22 Sabbath. None shall walk outside his city* more[10] than a thousand[11] cubits. | No man
23 shall eat on the day of the Sabbath but of that which is prepared[12] or perishing* | in
|| Page 11 the field[13]. None shall eat or drink but *from that which was* in the camp[14]. || *But
if he was[15] on the way and went down to wash he may drink where he stands, but

[8] Reading Heb. ibid. ובחרות for ובחרון.

[9] Heb. ibid. לסור as much as להסיר.

[10] Cf. Jub. 23 11.

¶ XII

[1] Heb. l. 11 ומעוטים מדי. Cf. the following line.

[2] Heb. ibid. מרעיל which I took as a corruption of מטביל. Cf. *Erubin* 4*b*, and reference given there, שכל גופו עולה בהן.

[3] Reading Heb. l. 12 במי for במה. This law seems to be directed against מים שאובים "drawn water," which also according to the Rabbinic law is unfit for immersion. Cf. Maimonides, *Hilcoth Mikwaoth*, ch. 4, § 3.

[4] Reading Heb. l. 13 כמימי for במימי.

¶ XIII

[1] Heb. l. 15 גלגל השמש. In Rabbinic ג' חמה see Rabb. Dict. s. גלגל. See particularly Jer. *Berachoth* 2*b* התחיל גלגל חמה לשקוע זהו בין השמשות.

[2] Reading Heb. l. 16 במלואו for מלואו. Perhaps we should emend בבואו "at its setting."

[3] Deut. 5 12. Perhaps it is the word שמור which is urged deriving from it what is known in Rabbinic literature as תוספת, that is the time added to a holy day before it actually begins. See *Rosh Hashanah*, 9*a* and cf. Rabb. Dict. s. תוספת. See Hadasi, *Alphabeta*, and *Gan Eden* by the Karaite, Aaron the Elder, 37*a*, and Bashiatsi, p. 40 seq., and 45*d*.

[4] Heb. ll. 17, 18 דבר נבל meaning probably the same as דברי חול, that is matters of a secular nature which must not be discussed on the Sabbath. The Rabbis derive this prohibition from Isa. 58 13. Cf. *Shabbath*, 150*a*. See also Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilchoth Shabbath*, ch. 24.

[5] Heb. l. 18 ורק אל ישה ברעהו כל. Cf. Deut. 15 2.

[6] Heb. l. 18 הון ובצע. See *Mishne Beza* v. 2.

[7] Heb. l. 19 למשכים. Cf. Mishne *Bikkurim* III. 2. Cf. Rabb. Dict. s. שכם.

[8] Reading Heb. l. 20 חפציו or חפצו. This probably only means to plan the work for the following day. Cf. the references given in note 4.

[9] Supplying at the beginning of Heb. l. 21 the word ביום.

[10] Heb. ibid. על, but is preceded by a word looking somewhat like אר. Perhaps it is a corruption of אך, but it is more likely to be a mere clerical error, the scribe having first written by mistake אר, and correcting himself afterwards by the proper word על.

[11] Heb. l. 21 אלף. No such "Sabbath limit" however is known. Probably it is a mere clerical error for אלפים. Cf. Heb. p. 11, l. 6. See also Jub. 50 8, text and note.

[12] Heb. l. 22 המוכן, that is destined or prepared for this purpose from the eve of the Sabbath or the feast. Cf. *Mishne Beza* I. 2. See also Rabb. Dict. s. כון. Cf. Jub. 50 9 and 2 29.

[13] "The field." Of the Heb. equivalent בשדה l. 23, only the ה is certain, whilst there is also a faint trace of the ד.

[14] Supplying Heb. l. 23, אשר, after the אם.

[15] Supplying at the beginning of Heb. p. 11 ואם היה, though the possibility is not excluded that we have here a lacuna in the MS.

2 he shall not draw | into any vessel[16]. No man shall send the son of the stranger[17] to
3 do his affairs on the day of the Sabbath. | No man shall put on garments that are
4 filthy or were brought by a gentile unless | they were washed in water or rubbed off
5 with frankincense[18]. No man shall *mingle[19] of his own will | on the Sabbath. No
6 man shall walk after the animal to feed it outside of his city more than | two thousand
7 cubits[20]. None shall lift his hand to beat it with his fist. If | it be stubborn he
shall not remove it out of his house[21]. No man shall carry anything from the house |
8 to the outside or from the outside into the house and if he be in the* gate[22] he shall
9 *not carry out | anything of it or bring[23] in anything into it. None shall* open[24]
10 the cover of a vessel that is pasted on the Sabbath. No man shall carry | on him
spices[25] to go out and *come in on[26] the Sabbath. None shall[27] move in the
11 house* on the day of the Sabbath[28] | rock or earth. No nurse shall bear the suckling
12 child[29] to go out and to come in on the Sabbath[30]. | No man shall *provoke[31] his man-
13 servant or his maidservant or his* hireling[32] on the day of the Sabbath. | No man
14 shall deliver an animal on the day of the Sabbath[33]. And if it falls into a pit | or
ditch, he shall not raise it on the Sabbath[34]. No man shall *rest[35] in a place near |
15 to the gentiles on the day of the Sabbath. No man shall profane[36] the Sabbath for
16 the sake of wealth and gain. | And if any person[37] falls into a *gathering of water
17 or into a place | of[38]...he shall not bring him up[39] by a ladder or a cord or

[16] The meaning of these laws is to be found in the interpretation of Exod. **16** 29, Jub. **50** 8 and **2** 29. Cf. Singer, p. 199 and Charles' notes to Jub. ibid. Cf. also Hadasi, *Alphabeta*, 147.

[17] Heb. l. 2 בן הנכר. See Isa. **56** 6.

[18] This law does not refer exactly to the Sabbath, but to all the days of the week on account of contamination (טומאה). See Introduction, p. xxv.

[19] Heb. l. 4 יתערב. Meaning obscure. Perhaps it is a corruption of ירעב, which would mean as much as to be hungry, or to starve oneself, thus containing a prohibition against fasting on the Sabbath. Possibly, it is a direct corruption of יתענה. Cf. Jub. **50** 12.

[20] See above, note 11.

[21] Cf. Jub. ch. **2** 29, text and notes.

[22] Reading Heb. l. 8 מבוי for מובה. Cf. Rabb. Dict. s. מבוי and מבוא. About this law in general, cf. Jub. **2** 29, 30 and **50** 8.

[23] Reading Heb. ll. 8—9, יוציא—יביא, instead of יוצא—יבא.

[24] Reading Heb. l. 9 יפתח for פתח. Cf. Hadasi, *Alphabeta*, 148. The Rabbinic law is very mild in this respect. See *Shabbath*, 146 *a*, and Maimonides, *Hilchoth Shabbath*, ch. 23, § 2. See also Jost, III. p. 303.

[25] Heb. l. 10 סמנים, more correct סממנים. Cf. Rab. Dict. s. סממן and סמן. Cf. Mishneh, *Shabbath* VI. 6. Tosefta, ibid. V. 10 and T. B. *Shabbath* 65*a* where a similar law is to be found.

[26] Reading Heb. ibid. ולבוא, though in the MS. the ו is a little short and looks like ולביא.

[27] Heb. ibid. יטול. Cf. Rab. Dict. s. נטל and טלטל (טול). The latter is more common in such connection.

[28] Reading Heb. ibid. יום השבת for מושבת.

[29] Cf. Num. **11** 13.

[30] Cf. Mishneh, *Shabbath*, XVIII. 2, and Maimonides, *Hilcoth Shabbath*, ch. 18, par. 16.

[31] Heb. l. 12 ימרא.

[32] Reading Heb. ibid. שכירו for שוכרו.

[33] See Mishneh, *Shabbath* XVIII. 3 where we have such a law with regard to the festivals (יום טוב). Cf. *Tur Orach Chayim*, par. 339.

[34] Reading Heb. l. 14 תפול for תפיל. The Rabbinic law is less strict. See *Shabbath*, 129*b*, and Maimonides, *Hilcoth Shabbath*, ch. 25, par. 25.

[35] Reading ibid. l. 14 ישבות for ישבית, that is, not to stay over the Sabbath in a gentile vicinity. Cf. Wreschner, pp. 14—15, for a similar law of the Samaritans and the Karaites.

[36] Heb. l. 15 יחל, perhaps a corruption of יחלל. Perhaps we have to understand by it the prohibition of buying and selling on the Sabbath. Cf. Jub. **50** 8.

[37] Heb. l. 16 נפש אדם.

[38] Heb. l. 16 אל מים מקום מים ואל מקום. The first מים is cancelled in the MS. מקום is undoubtedly a corruption of מקוה, cf. Lev. **11** 36, which emendation is reproduced in the translation. After the second מקום some word is missing.

[39] Assuming that Heb. l. 17 reads יַעֲלֶהָ, and thus refers to the נפש in the preceding line. For the Rabbinic law in this respect, see *Yoma*, 84*b*, and Maimonides, *Hilcoth Shabbath*, ch. 2, par. 7. It is more probable that some words are missing at the end of the preceding line, and that l. 17 is the beginning of a new law.

18 instrument. No man shall bring anything on the altar on the Sabbath, | save the
burnt-offering of the Sabbath, for so it is written, "Save your Sabbaths[40]."
¶ XIV 19 No man shall send | to the altar burnt-offering or meat-offering or frankincense
20 or wood through the hand of a man contaminated by any | of the uncleannesses[1],
21 allowing him[2] to contaminate the altar, for it is written, "The sacrifice | of the
wicked is abomination, but the prayer of the *righteous is like an offering of
22 delight[3]." And everyone who comes into | the house of *worship[4] he shall not enter
when he is contaminated *without[5] washing. And when the trumpets of the Congre-
23 gation sound | it shall be (done) before or after[6], and they shall not disturb the whole
|| Page 12 service *on the Sabbath[7] || it is holy. No man shall lie with a woman in the city
2 of the Sanctuary to contaminate | the city of the Sanctuary by their uncleanness[8].
3 Any man over whom the spirits of Belial will have dominion | and he will speak
rebellion[9], he shall be judged according to the law of the "Ob and Yiddeoni." And
4 he who will err | to profane the Sabbath and the Feasts shall not be put to death;
5 but[10] it is upon the sons of man | *to watch him[11] *whether[12] he will be healed of
6 it. And they shall watch him seven years and then | he shall come into the
Congregation. None shall stretch out his hand to shed the blood of any man
7 from among the gentiles | for the sake of wealth and gain[13]. Nor shall he take
8 anything of their property in order[14] that they blaspheme not, | unless by the counsel
9 of the *Congregation[15] of Israel. No man shall sell an animal | or bird that is
10 clean to the gentiles in order that they sacrifice them not[16]. Nor shall he | sell them
anything of his threshing-floor or his winepress in all his *property[17]. Nor shall he
11 sell them his manservant or maidservant | who entered with him into the covenant of
12 Abraham[18]. No man shall make himself abominable[19] | with any living creature or

[40] Perhaps he is referring to Lev. **23** 38 מלבד שבתות ה' interpreting it to mean "save the Sabbath of the Lord" on which the burnt offering and the meat offering etc. recorded in the preceding verse are forbidden. Of course the correct translation is "*beside* the Sabbaths of the Lord." More probable it is that we have here a reference to Jub. **50** 10, "and rest thereon from all labour......save burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices ......for Sabbaths," which the scribe in some way confused with the preceding law and wrote אל יעל, instead of אל יעש and then omitted several words which might easily be supplied from Jub.

¶ XIV

[1] Reading l. 20 הטומאות for הטמאות.

[2] Heb. ibid. להרשותו. See Rabb. Dict. s. רשה or רשי.

[3] Prov. **15** 8, but the second clause of the verse reads there ותפלת ישרים רצונו "The prayer of the upright is his delight." The reading ותפלת צדקם כמנחת רצון as our text has it (Heb. ll. 20, 21) is undoubtedly corrupt and points to a confusion with Prov. **15** 29.

[4] Heb. l. 22 בית השתחות lit. the house of prostration, cf. the Arabic مسجد. Cf. Levy's *Wörterbuch über die Targumim* II. 141 about בית סנודהון and בית סנידו, but it is never applied to a *Jewish* place of worship. The term is strongly suggestive of the Falashas' *Mesgeed*.

[5] Supplying ibid. after טמא the word בלי or בלא, cf. above l. 4. But it is also possible that it means as much as a טמא who is in need of כבוס. Cf. Lev. **11** 14 and **15** 10. See also 2 Chron. **23** 19.

[6] Heb. l. 23 יתקדם או יתאחר which may also mean be it earlier or later.

[7] Heb. ibid. השבת but only the ת is traceable whilst the other letters are torn off. The meaning of the law is entirely obscure to me.

[8] Heb. l. 2 בנדתם.

[9] See Deut. **13** 6.

[10] Heb. l. 4 כי.

[11] Heb. l. 15 משמרו. Perhaps a corruption of לשמרו.

[12] Reading אם for ואם.

[13] The meaning of this law is that he is only permitted to kill a gentile when it is a case of self-protection.

[14] Heb. l. 7 בעבור.

[15] Heb. l. 8 חבור, cf. Rab. Dict. s. חבר(עיר).

[16] That is to their idols. Some similar laws are to be found in Mishneh, *Aboda Zarah* I. 8, and 9. Cf. also the Gemara to these Mishnas.

[17] Heb. l. 10 בכל מאדו. Perhaps we should read מאודם "for all their property" that is for any money. See Rab. Dict. s. מאר.

[18] For a similar Rabbinic law see Mishneh, *Gittin* IV. 6.

[19] Cf. Lev. **11** 43.

13 creeping thing, to eat of them the beehives[20], even[21] any living creature | that moveth
14 in the waters[22]. Nor shall the fish be eaten unless they *were split | alive and
their blood was shed[23]. But all the locusts after their kind shall come into fire
15 or into water | whilst they are still living, for this is the manner of their creation[24].
16 And all wood and stones | and dust which will be polluted by the uncleanness of
17 man *shall be polluted like them[25]*. According to | their uncleanness shall be
unclean he who toucheth them. And every instrument, nail, or pillar in the wall |
18 which will be with the dead in the house shall be unclean, *like the uncleanness[26] of
an instrument of work[27]. |

¶ XV 19 And *this is the usage[1] of the settlement of the cities of Israel, according[2] to
20 these judgments to separate between | the clean and unclean[3] and to make known
21 *the difference between the holy and the profane[4]. And these are the statutes | *to
instruct[5] to walk in them the whole nation[6] *according to the law[7]...*every
22 time[8]. And in this law[9] | shall walk the whole seed of Israel and they shall not be

[20] Heb. l. 12 לאכל מהם מעגלי הדבורים. The מהם is probably a mere clerical error, whilst the מעגלי הדבורים means as much as the Rabbinic כוורת דבורים, cf. Jastrow s. כוורת. I do not remember any sect that forbade honey, though there was the consideration that it comes from an unclean insect, cf. *Bechoroth* 7 *b*. Perhaps it refers to particles of the bees which are mixed up with the honey. Rabbinic Judaism had no scruples in this respect and allowed the honey as it came from the bee-hives (see *Shulchan Aruch*, *Joreh Deah* § 81), whilst the Karaites protested and insisted on a preparation of the honey (through filtering) so as to separate these particles. Cf. Salmon b. Jerucham's denunciation of this less stringent usage of the Rabbanites מזבובים ועד יתושים ודבורים׳ התירו לבלע בחורים ואמרו לא זה משרצי אדמה בדבורים ושכחו השרץ השורץ ואחור נסוגים וסרים. (MS). Cf. *Eshkol Hakkofer Alphabeta*, 236. See however, Introduction, p. xxiv.

[21] Heb. l. 12 עד. It is not impossible that this is a shortened quotation from Lev. **11** 43—46 which began ככתוב אל (*v.* 43) to *v.* 46.

[22] Cf. Lev. **11** 46.

[23] Reading and supplying Heb. l. 14 ונשופך דמם. The ונשפך is almost certain though the פ is torn off whilst there are also definite traces of the דמם. This agrees in part with the view of the older Karaites and Samaritans, who forbade the eating of fish that died in the water or were found dead on the shore. Cf. Wreschner, p. 51. The splitting of the fish had, according to this writer, to be done by one of the Sect, as the אסיפה, according to some Samaritans and Karaites, had to be done by a Jew. Emphasis has also to be put on the ונשפך דמם. The law is directed against the Rabbinic opinion permitting the eating of the blood of fish. See *Sifra* 39 *a* and *Kerithoth* 20 *b*.

[24] See Wreschner ibid. p. 52, about the mode of killing the locusts in water. As to meaning of the last words, "for this is the manner of their creation." See *Chullin*, 27 *b*, where we have a homily to the effect that cattle have to be killed in a certain way because they were created out of the dry land (earth); fish, again, require no killing, being created out of the water; whilst birds, which were created out of alluvial mud (a combination of water and earth) occupy also, with regard to their ritual killing, a middle place between cattle and fish. The notion was thus that the mode of killing is in some way connected with the element out of which the animal in question was created. We may thus assume that in the composition of the locust, according to our author, the elements of water and fire are to be found, hence they shall be killed by water or by fire. According to the Rabbinic law, the locust requires no killing at all. See Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilchoth Shechitah*, ch. I. 1, and *Tur Joreh Deah*, § 13.

[25] Reading Heb. l. 16 יגואלו כמוהם for לגאולי שמו בהם referring to the בטמאת האדם. The ו of the שמו may also be taken as a final ן.

[26] Reading Heb. l. 18 כטמאת for בטמאת.

[27] Heb. l. 18 כלי מעשה. Cf. Num. **31** 51. Both this law and the one preceding it are in contradiction to the Rabbinic law, exempting all these things from טומאה. Cf. *Mishneh Kelim* XII. 3 and Maimonides, *Hilchoth Kelim*, ch. X. 1.

¶ XV

[1] Heb. l. 19 סרך. Supplying at the beginning of the line the word וזה as below, l. 22 and elsewhere.

[2] Supplying Heb. l. 19 פי after על.

[3] Lev. **11** 47.

[4] Cf. Lev. **10** 10. See also Num. **35** 24.

[5] Reading Heb. l. 21 להשכיל for למשכיל, though למשכיל (for the wise man) is not absolutely wrong.

[6] Heb. ibid. כלהו.

[7] Reading Heb. ibid. כמשפט for למשפט.

[8] Heb. ibid. ועת. Of the preceding word some traces remain which may be taken as עת.

[9] Heb. ibid. וכמשפט meaning as much as ובמשפט. Cf. p. 6, l. 10, להתהלך במה (בהם).

23 cursed. And this is the usage of the settlement | ......*congregation[10]......in the end
|| Page 13 of the wickedness and until there will arise the Anointed *from Aaron[11]. || * and
2 Israel—till ten men at least[12] by thousands and hundreds and fifties | and tens[13].
And when there will arise ten, the man who is a priest learned in the Book of the
3 Hagu[14] shall not[15] depart. According | unto his word shall they all be ruled[16]. And
4 if he is not tried[17] in all these but a man of the Levites is tried | in these, then the
lot shall be cast[18] that all those who enter into the camp shall go out and come in
5 according to his word[19]. And if | there be a decision regarding the law of leprosy
*which[20] a man will have, then shall come the priest and stand in the camp, and
6 the Censor[21] shall instruct him | in the explanation of the law. And if it *increased[22],
7 he shall shut him up for unto them | is the judgment[23].

¶ XVI And this is the usage of the Censor of the camp. He shall instruct the
8 many in the deeds | of God, and shall make them understand *His mighty wonders[1],
and shall narrate before them the *happenings of eternity[2] *in the Law of
9 God*[3], | and shall have mercy with them as a father with his children, and shall
10 *forgive all their rebellions*[4]. Like a shepherd with his flock[5] | he shall loose all
11 the bonds of their knots[6]......[7] oppressed and crushed *in his congregation*[8]. | And
everyone who shall join his congregation, he shall count him according to his
12 *deeds[9] his *understanding[10], his might, his strength and his property. | And they
shall record him in his place in accordance with his *assignment[11] through the lot in
13 the camp[12]. But no man of the children of the camp shall rule | to bring a man into

[10] The MS. is both faded and torn in this place. The ..תהל which is taken as קהל in the translation is very doubtful. Before בקץ traces of לה may be seen.

[11] Reading Heb. p. 12, l. 23, and p. 13, l. 1, משוח מאהרן ומישראל for מ'אהרן וישראל. Cf. Heb. p. 19, ll. 10, 11, and p. 20, l. 1, text and notes. In my first reading of the MS., I assumed that there is a lacuna in the MS. between p. 12 and p. 13, as indicated by the asterisks at the bottom of p. 12. But further study convinced me of the continuity of the text, as it proceeds on p. 13, to give interpreting details to the סרך מושב on p. 12, remaining in force till the advent of the Messiah. Cf. p. 6, l. 10, which is an exact parallel, only that there he calls the "Messiah," the Teacher of Righteousness, l. 11.

[12] Heb. l. 1 למועט, the מושב consisting of ten men at least.

[13] Heb. ibid. ומיאיות.

[14] See Heb. above, p. 10, l. 6.

[15] Heb. l. 2 אל ימיש. Cf. Exod. **33** 11.

[16] Heb. l. 3 ישקו. Cf. Gen. **41** 40.

[17] Heb. ibid. בחון.

[18] Cf. Josh. **19** 1 etc. Heie it seems to be a mere phrase=it shall be decided.

[19] Cf. Num. **27** 21 etc. Apparently if there is a priest (כהן) he comes first.

[20] Supplying Heb. l. 5 before יהיה the word אשר.

[21] See above, Heb. p. 9, l. 17 etc.

[22] Reading Heb. l. 6 פשה instead of פתי. But it is also possible that פֶּתִי (fool, ignorant) is correct. The meaning would be that even in the case when the priest is an ignorant man and has to be instructed by the Censor, the act of shutting up the leper had to be done by the priest. Cf. *Sifra*, 60*b*, and *Mishneh Negaim* III. 1, for a similar law.

[23] Cf. Hos. **5** 1.

¶ XVI

[1] Reading Heb. l. 18 פלאו for פלאי.

[2] Heb. l. 8 נהיות עולם. Cf. Heb. above, p. 2, l. 10.

[3] Reading Heb. ibid. בתרת יה for בפרתיה. Perhaps this word is a corruption of בפרטיה "details." See Rab. Dict. s. פרט.

[4] The MS. is torn and probably also corrupt in this place. The translation assumes the reading and emendation in Heb. l. 9 וישא לכל מרדותם (for מרחובם).

[5] See Isa. **40** 11.

[6] See Isa. **58** 7 which suggests the emendation of רשעותיהם (wickedness) instead of קִשריהם in Heb. l. 10.

[7] The MS. is torn in this line (10) as indicated by the dots. The traces left suggest also some such words למתי זדים, or לעתי ז'.

[8] Reading Heb. ibid. בעדתו for בעדתי. Cf. also Deut. **28** 33.

[9] Heb. l. 11 למעשיו supplying the ע which is torn away.

[10] Heb. ibid. ושוכלו as much as ושכלו.

[11] Heb. l. 12 יהותו which I took to be a corruption from יֵצאו. See above, l. 4. It is also possible that the word is a corruption of יחוסו "genealogy," "pedigree." Cf. Rab. Dict. s. יחוס.

[12] Supplying Heb. ibid. after the ה the letters מחנה, or עדה "congregation."

14 the congregation *without the[13] word of the Censor of the camp. | Nor shall any man of them who entered into the covenant[14] deal with[15] the sons of the *strangers[16]
15 *unless | hand to hand[17]. No man shall perform a *thing as[18] buying and selling[19]
16 *unless he has spoken[20] | to the Censor of the camp and he shall do[21]......and not...
17–18 .... | and so to him who expels[22] and he..................... | afflict[23] him and in
19 the love......he shall not incline[24]......... | they, [25]and he who is not connected with.........|
20–21 And this is the settlement of the camps. All...... | shall not succeed to settle in the
|| Page 14 22 land[26] | .... ||that have not come from the day that Ephraim
2 departed from Judah[27]. And all they who walk in these | the covenant of God *is steadfast to them[28] to save them[29] from all the snares of the pit, for suddenly...[30] |
¶XVII 3 *And this is the usage[1] of the settlement of all the camps. They shall be
4 counted all by their names, the Priests first, | the Levites second, the children of Israel third[2], and the proselyte fourth[3]. And they shall be recorded by their
5 names | one after another, the Priests first, the Levites second, the children of Israel
6 third, and the proselyte fourth. And so they shall be seated and so they shall ask
7 for everything[4]. And the Priest who will count | *the many[5] shall be from thirty
8 years old and upwards until sixty years old[6] learned in the book...[7] | in all the laws of the Torah to *speak them[8] according to their rules. And the Censor who is |
9 over all the camps shall be from thirty years old and upwards until fifty years

[13] Supplying Heb. l. 13 after העדה the word מבלי. The MS. is here torn.

[14] See Heb. above, p. 2, l. 2. It is not unlikely that the אל here is a mere dittography. Heb. l. 14 באי ברית.

[15] Heb. l. 14 באי ברית אל אל. I took the second אל to be a mere dittography. Cf. above, Heb. p. 2, l. 2, and elsewhere. This is followed by אל ישאל, but the trace of the ל is very uncertain, and on closer examination I found it to be a ו, thus reading אל ישא ואל יתן meaning "to deal," "to have money transactions." Cf. Rab. Dict. s. נשא.

[16] Heb. l. 14 בני השחר which gives no meaning, and which I emended ב' הנכר. Cf. above, Heb. p. 11, l. 2. Before the בני some short word is torn off which may have been את or עם. After השחר is also room for another short word, probably כי.

[17] Heb. l. 15 כף לכף. See Prov. **16** 5 יד ליד. Cf. also Epstein, pp. 68, 74, note 5. The תקיעת כף is one of the various ways of affirming a money transaction. Yet the meaning remains unclear to me.

[18] Supplying Heb. ibid. after איש the word דבר of which traces are fairly visible.

[19] Supplying the letters למ[ו]קח ולמ[ו]מכר.

[20] Supply Heb. ibid. the end of the line אמר of which some faint traces are visible.

[21] Heb. l. 16 ועשה, before which the letters נה still remain, which points to מחנה.

[22] Heb. l. 17 למגרש. Perhaps it reads לְמִגְרָשׁ "open place." The two other words remaining in this line offer no clue.

[23] Heb. l. 18 ענוהו, the reading of which is very doubtful, most of this line being torn off, and what remains is very faded. After the word ובאהבת we have the letters חם.

[24] Heb. ibid. יטה, reading uncertain; and so is the following ..הב.. which may perhaps also be taken as בהם or יהם..

[25] Heb. l. 19 הם, but some faint traces of a possible ש are visible before the הם.

[26] Only a few letters giving no words remain of l. 22, whilst l. 23 is entirely missing.

[27] See Isa. **7** 17. Cf. above, Heb. p. 7, l. 11.

[28] Cf. Heb. above, p. 7, l. 5.

[29] Heb. l. 2 להנצילם instead of להצילם.

[30] At the end of the line we have the letters ונע (which are certain), followed by traces of letters, the first of which may be a נ, but also perhaps פ. Perhaps we have here some corrupt quotation from Mal. **3** 1 ופנה..פתאים.

¶ XVII

[1] Reading Heb. l. 3 וזה סרך for וסרך.

[2] Heb. l. 4 שלשתם, below, l. 6 שלושתם.

[3] Heb. ibid. והגר רביע.

[4] Heb. l. 6 וכן ישאלו לכל, which however may also mean they shall be asked (יִשָּׁאלוּ), that is whilst sitting in counsel when they are asked for their opinion.

[5] Reading l. 6 את for איש.

[6] See Lev. **27** 3 and Num. **4** 3, but our numbers correspond with neither of these precedents.

[7] The MS. is here torn off. Perhaps we should supply ההגו as above, Heb. p. 10, l. 6.

[8] Reading לדברם though only the roof of the ד remains now. Perhaps the meaning of this word is "to guide them." See Rab. Dict. s.v. דבר.

10 old[9] *married[10] in all | counsel of men, and in every tongue[11]......According to his
11 word shall come in they who enter the Congregation | every man his share[12]. And
everything concerning which any man shall have to speak he shall speak to the
12 Censor, | with regard to any controversy or suit[13].

¶ XVIII And this is the usage of the many to prepare[1] all their needs. The amount |
13 of their offerings *are[2] for every moon[3]...And they shall give it into the hands of
14 the Censor and the judges. | From it they shall give for the *poor[4] and from it[5]
they shall strengthen the *hand[6] of the poor and the needy. And to the aged man
15 who | ......to the man who *wanders[7] and to him who was *captured[8] by a strange
16 people, and to the virgin who[9] | ....*he who has[10] none seeking after him[11] all
17 the labour[12]...and not................. | And this is the explanation of the settlement......
18–19 .... | And this is the explanation of the judgments which.............. | Aaron
20 and Israel[13] and he will forgive our sins.................... | in money[14] and he knows......|
21–22 ....punishment six days and he that speaketh....................... | against
Moses[15]..................... |

¶ XIX
|| Page 15 ||...........[1] and also with *Aleph Lamed* and also with *Aleph Daleth*[2], but an oath
2 of the *covenant[3].............. | by the curses of the covenant. But the Law of Moses[4]

[9] See above, note 6.

[10] Heb. l. 9 בעול which I read בָּעוּל. According to this the sect would insist upon the marriage of the מבקר as the Rabbis did with regard to the high priest. Possibly it is a mere dittography of the following בכל. It is also possible that it is a corruption of בא. It would then be connected with the בסוד אנשים of the next line, "coming into every assembly of men." Cf. Gen. **49** 6.

[11] The MS. is here torn and only the letters reproduced in the text remain. The ר of רמ has the Babylonian vowel ר֞.

[12] Heb. l. 11 איש בתרו. See Gen. **15** 10.

[13] See 2 Sam. **15** 4.

¶ XVIII

[1] Heb. l. 11 להכין.

[2] Heb. l. 12 תרומתן הם. But the reading is very doubtful, and the faded letters look also like שני ימים "two days." It would then perhaps mean that the earnings of two days in every month should be set apart for certain communal purposes.

[3] The MS. has here הם...ט as reproduced in the Heb. text, ibid. the middle letters being torn off. המשפט ("the law," "rule") is the word which suggests itself.

[4] The MS. is torn and faded in this place as indicated in the Heb. text, l. 14 בער...עם which may perhaps be corrected into בער עניים. It may also be a corruption of כהנים (priests).

[5] Heb. ibid. מני; but there are also traces of a מ after the ו. I thus read וממנו for וממני.

[6] Reading Heb. ibid. ביד for בה. Cf. Ezek. **16** 49.

[7] The MS. is mutilated here. I first read ינע, as reproduced in Heb. l. 15, but on closer examination I find that it may be read ינוע "who is wandering," that is, homeless.

[8] Reading and supplying Heb. l. 15 ולאשר ישְׁבָה.

[9] Scarcely legible traces are left here of letters ן לה ג which could be construed into אין לה גואל "who has no near kinsman." Cf. Ruth **3** 9 and 12.

[10] Heb. l. 16 אשר of which word however only the ר remains.

[11] Heb. l. 16 אין לו דורש. Cf. Jer. **30** 17.

[12] Only very faint traces remain here in the MS. representing perhaps עבד "slave."

[13] Probably we had here משוח מאהרן וג׳. Cf. below, Heb. p. 18, l. 1.

[14] Heb. l. 20 בממון the preceding letters are very uncertain.

[15] Heb. l. 22 במשה which however is uncertain as it may also be read במשפט. There were also on this line traces of שף. Line 23 is entirely missing.

¶ XIX

[1] Here perhaps some leaf or leaves are missing in the MS. The first word of this page (Heb. p. 15, l. 1) is faded and the last letter is discernible ע which suggests ישבע "he shall take an oath."

[2] Heb. l. 1 וגם באלף ולמד וגם באלף ודלת. That is אל of אלהים and אד of אדני. Cf. Mishneh, *Shebuoth* IV. 13 משביע אני עליכם...באלף דלי"ת. Cf. also T. B. *Shebuoth* 35*a* and *Masecheth Soferin*, ed. Joel Müller, pp. vii and 58.

[3] Reading and supplying with fair certainty, Heb. ibid. שבועת הב[רית]. The line probably finished with או "*or* the curses," etc. Even in its present defective state what remains of the text allows us to assume that we have here a law that one shall take no oath either by the full name (the Tetragrammaton) or by any other name of God, such as *Elohim* or *Adonai*. The Samaritans, according to the well-known statement in *Jer. Sanhedrin*, 28*b*, were in the habit of taking the oath by the Tetragrammaton. Cf. Kirchheim, *Karme Shomron*, p. 26. Our Sect only allowed the oath by the covenant.

[4] Does this mean to swear by the Law? Cf. *Shebuoth* 38*b* שבועה בספר תורה; but there it does not mean to swear by the Law but to keep the scroll.

3 he shall not mention[5], for[6]... | And if he swears and transgresses he will profane the
4 Name[7]. And if by the curses of the Covenant...... | the Judges. And if he trans-
5 gressed he is guilty and he shall confess and shall return and shall not bear... | [8]death.
And he who enters into the covenant for the whole of Israel a statute for ever
6 with their children *that[9]... | to pass among them that are numbered[10] by the oath of
7 the covenant they shall confirm it upon them. And this is also | the law in every
end of the wickedness[11], for everyone who returns from his corrupt way. On the
8 day of his speaking | with the Censor of the many they shall count him by the oath
9 of the covenant that Moses established | with Israel. The covenant[12]......*Moses
10 with all heart[13]... | soul everything be found to be done in them[14].... And no man
11 shall make known to him[15] the | laws until he will stand before the Censor[16]......be *per-
12 suaded[17] by him when he examines him. | And when he will confirm it upon him to
13 return to the Law of Moses with all his heart and all his soul | ......of him if[18].........
and everything which was revealed of the Law with regard to a controversy[19]...... |
14–15 ....in him[20]......the Censor him and shall command him......... | until[21]......*killed
16–17 him[22]......and the madman and all.............. | till.......................... |*daughter[23]......|
¶ Page 16 .... || covenant with you and with the whole of Israel. Therefore
2 the man shall confirm it upon *himself[24] to return to | the Law of Moses for in it
everything is *exactly explained[25].

¶ XX 3 As to the explanation of their ends[1] *for a remembrance[2] | to Israel of all
these, behold, it is exactly explained in the Book of the Divisions of the Seasons[3] |

[5] Reading Heb. l. 2 יזכיר for יזכור.

[6] After כי "for" the MS. is badly faded, but traces of letters ,—ה . . בזה מפי, but everything must be considered as very uncertain.

[7] Heb. l. 3 וחלל השם that is by his transgressing the oath he is profaning the Name. Cf. Lev. **19** 12. At the end of the line probably the words יובא לפני are missing.

[8] Probably some such word as עון is to be supplied here. Cf. Lev. **17** 16. This law as given in the text seems to be a corrupt condensation of Lev. **5** 4, 5 and 23.

[9] Heb. l. 5 אשר though very little trace remains of the ר. Traces of letters indicated by the dots look somewhat like ע · מ · י. Perhaps we had here יולדו.

[10] See Exod. **30** 13. The meaning of the law seems to be that their children shall take an oath by the covenant when mustered in the congregation, that is at the age of thirty as above, Heb. p. 14, ll. 3 and 6.

[11] Heb. l. 7 קץ הרשע, that is in the case of repentance. Cf. above, Heb. p. 6, ll. 10 and 14.

[12] Heb. l. 9 את הברית. These words are followed by לש suggesting לשמוע "to obey." The ל that comes next may be the remainder of לתורת followed by משה.

[13] Heb. ibid. לב which is followed by the trace of a ו forming probably the remainder of ובכל. See below, l. 12.

[14] Heb. l. 10 בם which may be a corruption of בה "in it," that is, in the Torah. The MS. is torn in this place only traces of illegible letters remaining, of which nothing is decipherable except the ץ.

[15] Heb. ibid. יידיעהו.

[16] The word following Heb. l. 11 indicated by dots read probably אשר "who."

[17] Heb. ibid. יתפתה the reading of which however is very doubtful. The word looks somewhat like יחפוזר. The paper is torn in the middle of the word. Perhaps, it read יחפוש בו "he shall inquire into him," that is, into the novice or penitent.

[18] Heb. l. 13 אם. The ר following it is very doubtful. The left traces look also somewhat like . . ינ or ים.

[19] Heb. ibid. לריב. Cf. above, p. 14, l. 12.

[20] Heb. l. 14 בו. The word is preceded by the trace of a ך and followed by traces of וי.

[21] Heb. l. 15 עד which I first took as בד. Then come some very faint traces of עמד or יומו or מימ.

[22] Heb. ibid. המתו which is however very doubtful. The left traces may also read המתו or הממקו. All the remaining single letters are very doubtful.

[23] Heb. l. 17 בת, which is however very doubtful, whilst it might also be the ending of any number of words like שבת, etc. The last six lines are entirely missing.

[24] Reading Heb. l. 1 נפשו for נפשך.

[25] Heb. l. 2 מדוקדק. See Rab. Dict. s. דוק and דק.

¶ XX

[1] Heb. l. 2 ופרוש קציהם. Cf. above, Heb. p. 2, l. 9.

[2] Reading l. 2 לזכרון for לעורון.

[3] Heb. מחלקות העתים ליוב׳ ובשב׳. By this undoubtedly the Book of Jubilees is meant, though no such full title of this Pseudepigraphic work is thus far known. See Charles, *Introduction*, p. xiv seq. See also the Prologue to the book, p. 1.

4 according to their jubilees and their weeks. And on the day on which the man
5 will confirm upon himself to return | to the Law of Moses the angel of Mastema[4]
6 will turn away from behind him if he will fulfil his word. | Therefore Abraham was
circumcised on the day of his knowing *it[5]. As to what He said, "that which is
7 gone out of thy lips | thou shalt keep[6]" to confirm, every oath of a bond[7] by which
8 a man will confirm upon himself | to perform a commandment of the Law till the
9 *price of death[8] he shall not redeem it[9]. Every thing which | ...[10] a man upon himself[11]...
10 ....till price of death he shall not confirm it[12]...... | the oath of the woman
11 which *Moses said [13]to disallow her oath[14]. No man | shall disallow an oath which
12 *no man knew*[15]. It is to be fulfilled. As to disallowing[16] | if it is to transgress the
covenant *then he shall disallow it and not confirm it. And so is also the law for
13 her father. | As to the law of *offerings[17], no man shall vow anything for the altar
14 under compulsion[18]. Nor | shall the *priests[19] take anything from the Israelites[20]
15 ......a man *dedicate the food[21]......... | this is what he said, "They hunt every man
16 his brother with a net*[22]." Nor | shall devote.........of all..................his possession |
17–19 holy........................shall be punished... | he who takes a vow........................... | to
the judge[23]...........................

[4] Heb. l. 5 מלאך המשטמה. Cf. Jub. **10** 8, text and notes.

[5] Heb. l. 6 ביום דעתו, that is, the importance of this law and its inherent virtue consists in man's being saved from the power of Mastema and other demons. Cf. Jub. **15** 26, 32.

[6] Deut. **23** 24.

[7] Cf. Num. **30** 3.

[8] Heb. l. 8 עד מחיר מות, meaning perhaps, "the risk of death."

[9] Heb. ibid. אל יפדהו. Perhaps we should read יפרהו ("he shall not make it void") for יפדהו. See also below, note 11.

[10] There is before the איש Heb. l. 9 the trace of a ם which suggests יקים "confirm."

[11] Heb. ibid. נפשו, followed by a ל. Before the עד we have distinct traces of רה, but between the ל and the רה there is enough space to supply לסור מן התו]רה to "turn away from the Law." We might now explain these laws in the following way. First, that a man is bound to keep his vow pledging him to a particular commandment of the Law, even at the risk of death, having no powers of annulling it; second, that a man is bound not to keep his vow even at the risk of his life, if this vow was intended to abolish a commandment of the Law. The second עד מחיר מות may be a mere dittography, coming from the preceding line.

[12] The missing word in this place at the beginning of Heb. l. 10 must have been על (Heb. p. 10, l. 14 etc.) or בדבר "as to."

[13] Supplying ibid. אמור מ]ושה.

[14] See Num. **30** 6, 8, 9.

[15] Heb. l. 11 supplying the dots לא [י]ד]ע א]דם, which however is very doubtful. There is a trace of a נ after the ע of ידע.

[16] That is as to the concession which the Scriptures make to the father and to the husband, in this respect they refer only to cases where the vow involves a breach of the Law.

[17] Heb. l. 13 ה]נדב[ות. The roof of the ב is still fairly discernible.

[18] Heb. ibid. אנוס.

[19] Reading and supplying Heb. at the beginning of l. 14 [הכ]הנים.

[20] Probably here was some word like בחזקה "by force." After this there is room for a small word like ולא.

[21] Heb. ibid. יקדש איש מאכל. If we put ולא before it as suggested in the preceding note, then we should translate "nor shall a man devote."

[22] Corrected and restored Heb. ibid. after Micah **7** 2, איש את אחיהו יצודו חרם. The meaning of the law is not clear to me.

[23] The last lines are entirely missing, whilst from the preceding four lines, only a few words remain.

CORRECTIONS TO THE HEBREW TEXT

TEXT A.

Heb. p. 1, l. 2 ריב for רִיב

4 שאירית for שארית.

11 Blank equal to the space of one word between לבו and ויודע.

20 חוֹק for חוק.

p. 2, l. 3 ותושויה may also be read ותושייה.

9 קציתם may also be read קצירם.

15 כאשר may perhaps be read באשר.

20 Supply after בשר the word אשר.

p. 3, l. 1 ומשפחות for ומשפחה, the ת, however, is doubtful.

21 Omit interrogation mark after והלוים.

p. 4, l. 17 Blank equal to the space of a short word after הזנות.

17 ההין for ההון, after which we have a blank equal to the space of a short word.

21 אוֹתם for אותם.

p. 5, l. 3 נפתח twice, but the first is cancelled.

12 לאמר for לאמר.

13 זיקות for זיקי.

16 בעלילותיהם for בעלילותם.

p. 6, l. 1 מֵאחַר for מאחר.

2 ויקֵם for ויקח.

5 ויגורו for ויגורו.

10 הרשיע may be also read הרשוע.

18 לחוֹל for לחול.

p. 7, l. 5 יסורו may be also read יסודו.

8 היסורים may be also read היסודים.

16 Supply blank equal to space of short word after הנפלת.

p. 8, l. 7 להין for להון.

10 Blank equal to space of one word after העמים.

17 הועירו may be also read היעירו.

p. 9, l. 2 אמר. It seems that the scribe wrote originally אשר but corrected it into אמר.

3 רעהו for רעהו.

Heb. p. 9, l. 14 The blank is before הכל, and it is not impossible that this word was cancelled by the scribe and corrected by the following וכן.

22 החוק for ההון.

22 בלו.. for כלו.., but there is no real certainty about it.

23 יקום, but not certain. May perhaps also be read יקומוי.

p. 10, l. 15 Before השישי we have the letters מי cancelled by the scribe.

18 ורק may also be read ודין.

20 חפצי may also be read חפצו.

p. 11, l. 2 כלי, but the י is hardly discernible now.

13 תפול may also be read תפיל.

23 ת... is very doubtful.

p. 12, l. 3 במשפט for כמשפט.

p. 13, l. 5 משפט for משפש.

10 דים, the letter ד very doubtful.

14 ברית אל אל ישא ואל יתן for ברית אל ישאל אל יתן. The first אל is probably to be pointed אֵל.

16 At the end of this line are traces of something like a ח and then of an א and a ל.

18 ענוהו very doubtful.

18 חט. The ט very doubtful.

18 יטה, may be read יטור. The ו after the ט is certain.

19 נקשר, the ר very uncertain.

22 ה.. looks something like השפטים. The ש and the פ are fairly certain.

p. 14, l. 8 לחברם, may also be read לדברם.

14 ביד for בה.

16 After עבודת, room for one word before ולא. The last letter is still visible, representing a ד, something like a י preceding it. There is also some sign which may be taken as a פ. This would suggest the remainder or corruption of בפרך.

19 Before אהרן we have the letter ה, undoubtedly the remainder of משוה.

p. 15, l. 1 שבועה may also be read שבועת.

2 Some traces of such letters as זה and על, perhaps also פי, after כי at end of line.

5 The אש at end of line is followed by a ר thus making אשר. Then there are at the end some signs which may perhaps be taken as עו.

TEXT B.

Heb. p. 19, l. 26 Between עדתו and ואשר, blank of two words.

35 ובכתבו, last letter of this word not quite certain.

p. 20, l. 1 At the beginning of the line there are signs of some letters now illegible, but, as it would seem, they were cancelled by the scribe.

12 Before ואמנה, sign of one or two letters cancelled by the scribe.

20 After יעלה, sign of one or two letters cancelled.

25 קרשו for קֹדֶשׁ: followed by a blank of two words.

33 אל חקי, doubtful.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO TRANSLATION AND NOTES

P. 2, l. 7 Heb. מקדם עולם. Cf. Ps. **74** 2, and Prov. **8** 22 מקדמי ארץ.

10 Heb. עד מה. It was suggested to me by the Rev. J. A. Montgomery that it is probably equal to the Syriac עדמא, and has to be translated *until that*.

p. 4, l. 8 Interpretation of the Law. Heb. כפירוש התורה cf. p. 6, ll. 14, 18 and 20, and p. 13, l. 6. On p. 20, l. 6 we have מדרש התורה. Cf. also p. 7, l. 18 about the דורש התורה. Cf. also p. 7, ll. 1, 2, and 3 where משפט seems =פירוש, the Sect insisting that the particular laws mentioned there (p. 6, l. 18—p. 7, l. 3) should be observed according to their own פירוש or משפט. This suggests the possibility of our having in p. 20, ll. 31 and 32 ...והתיסרו במשפטים אשר נשפטו וכו׳ a parallel to our passage in p. 4, l. 8 והתיסרו would then mean "to be instructed." The פירוש or מדרש is contained in the Book of Jubilees and similar Apocrypha which the Sect considered authoritative.

p. 5, l. 19 (note 35). In connection with this subject, the following extracts from the Jerahmeel MS. in Oxford, kindly copied for me by the Rev. M. Segal, will not be uninteresting:

ועוד שני אנשים מכשפים היו בהם ושמותם יוחני וממרא וכשנכנסו בים וראו שהמים מסבבין אותם מה עשו הרבו (?) בכשפיהם ופרחו באויר עד לרקיע ואין לך ברייה בעולם ומכשפים יותר ממצרים שכן אמרו חכמים עשרה קבין מכשפות ירדו לעולם תשעה נטלה מצרים ואחת לכל העולם כולו. והללו יוחני וממרא היו שרי כשפים ומרוב כשפים שהן יודעים היו עולין עד לרקיע ולא היו יכולין מיכאל וגבריאל לעשות להם כלום מיד צעקו מיכא׳ וגבריא׳ להקב״ה בתחנונים ואמרו לפניו רבונו של עולם רשעים הללו ששיעבדו בניך בשעבוד קשה עומדים כל כך לא היו חוששים אלא אף עליך הם עומדים ומניין שירד הקב״ה במצרים שנ׳ ארד עמך

מצרימה אלא אם רצונך רבון העולמים עשה דין לבניך מיד אמ׳ הקבה
למטטרון הורד אותם והפילם והזהר שלא יפלו אלא בים מיד הפילם
מיטטרון בתוך הים בעל כרחן באותה שעה פתחו ישר׳ ואמרו שירה וברוב
גאונך תהרוס קמיך״

Cf. Dr Gaster, *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, LIV. and p. 159. London, 1899.
Cf. also ציוני Sec. וארא.

p. 6, l. 2 Heb. ויקח, read ויקם, "and He raised up."

p. 10, l. 18 (note 4). Cf. also Jub. **49** 8, "or whoever says he will do something on it," but the meaning is not quite clear to me.

p. 11, l. 10 (note 28). Perhaps מושבת is in contradistinction to מחולל, a term occurring sometimes in Karaitic literature. It would then mean even in a locality which has the advantage of being מושבת in which he may move all other things he must not move rock or earth.

p. 12, l. 13 (note 4). Add—Meaning obscure. Perhaps we have in this law a protest against the Rabbinic interpretation of Lev. **11** 36 according to which not only the fountain or pit remained clean but also the water therein. Cf. D. Hoffmann, *Das Buch Leviticus*, p. 349, and other commentaries ancient and modern.

p. 15, l. 8 Heb. יפקדוהו. Perhaps it has here the meaning of "to remind him."

p. 19, l. 12 Heb. נאנחים ונאנקים. An expression which the Karaites applied to their own sect. Cf. Pinsher, *Lekute Kadmoniyoth Nispachim*, p. 101.

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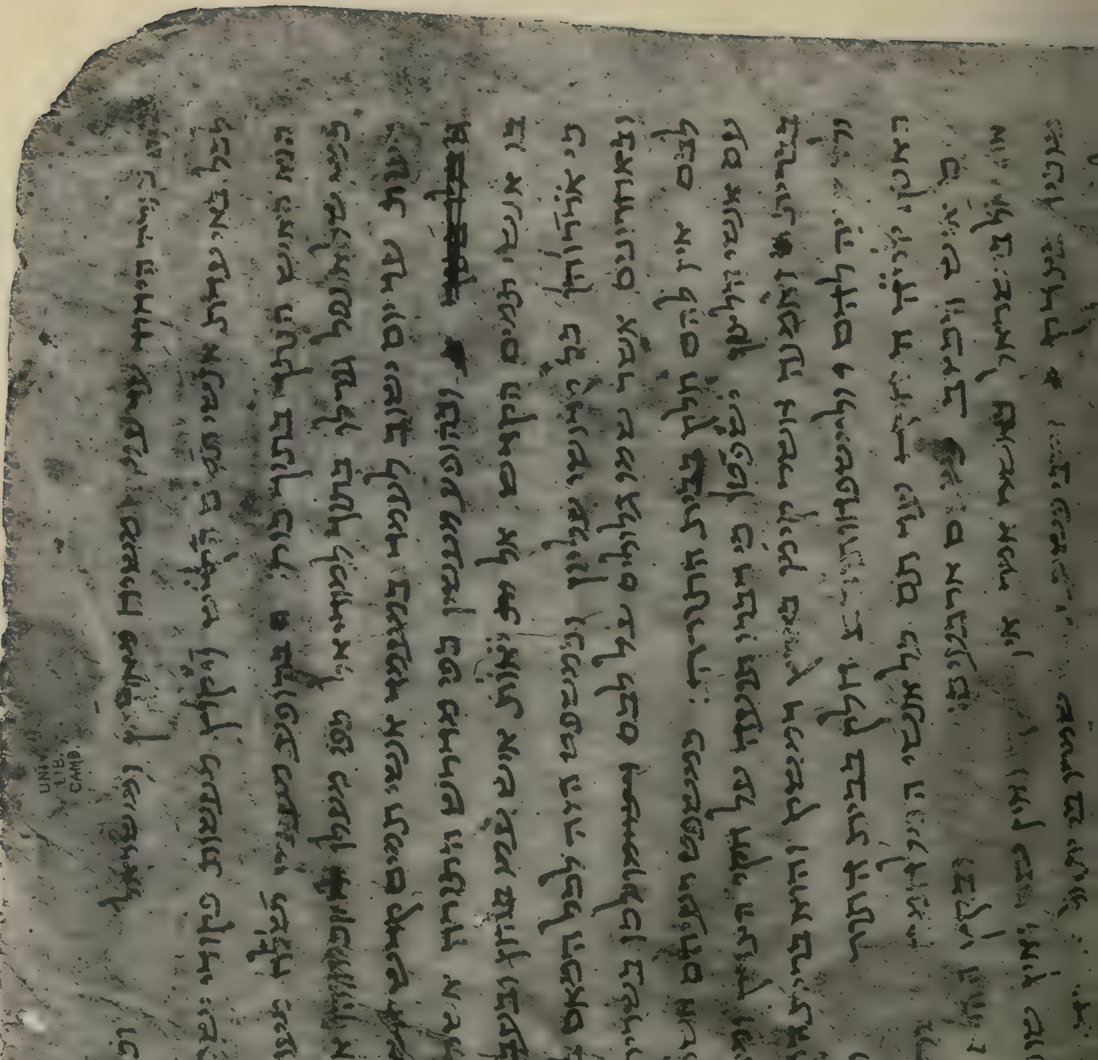

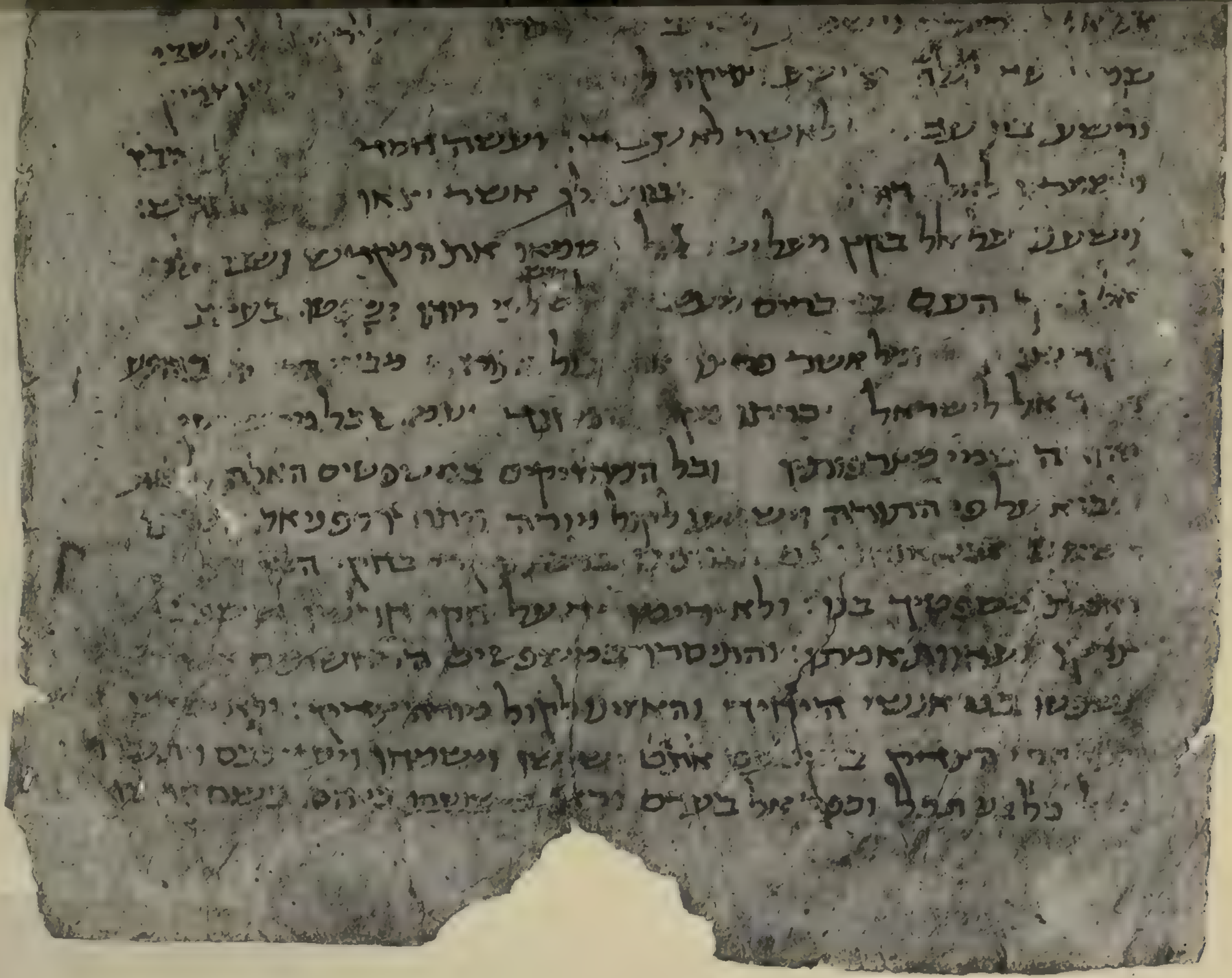

Facsimile of page 20. Text B

מורה היחיד עד עמוד משיח מאהרן ומישראל וכן המשפט לכל באי עדת אנשי תמים הקדש ויקוץ מעשות פקודי ישרים הוא האיש הנתך בתוך כור : בהופע מעשיו ישלח מעדה כמו שלא נפל גורלו בתוך למודי אל כפי מעלו ~~יח~~ יזכירוהו אנשי מעות עד יום ישוב לעמד במעמד אנשי תמים קדש ~~אשר אין גורלו בתוך~~ ובהופע מעשיו כפי מדרש התורה אשר יתהלכו בו אנשי תמים הקדש אל ~~יח~~ יאות איש עמו בהון ובעבודה כי ארורוהו כל קדושי עליון וכמשפט הזה לכל המאס בראשונים ובאחרונים אשר שמו גלולים על לבם ~~וישימו~~ וילכו בשרירות לבם אין להם חלק בבית התורה : כמשפט רעיהם אשר שבו עם אנשי הלצון ישפטו כי דברו תועה על חקי הצדק ומאסו בברית ואמנה אשר קימו בארץ דמשק והוא ברית החדשה : ולא יהיה להם ולמשפחותיהם חלק בבית התורה ומיום האסף יוריה היחיד עד תם כל אנשי המלחמה אשר הלכו עם איש הכזב כשנים ארבעים : ובקץ ההוא יחרה אף אל בישראל כאשר אמר אין מלך ואין שר ואין שופט ואין מוכיח בצדק ושבי פשע י... שמרו ברית אל אז.. נד... איש אל רע..ל...ן... ~~אחיו~~ את אחיו יתמך צעדם בדרך אל ויקשב אל אל דבריהם וישמע ויכתב ספר זכרן.. ליראי אל לחושבי שמו . עד יעלה ישע וצדקה ליראי אל ושבתם וראיתם בין צדיק ורשע בין עבד . ל לאשר לא עבדו : ועשה חסד . . לאוהביו ולשמריו לאלף דור : מביתפלג אשר יצאו מעיר הקדש : וישענו על אל בקץ מעל ישראל וטמאו את המקדש ושבו עד אל : נסיך העם בדברים מעט . . . לם איש לפי רוחו ישפטו בעצת קדש : וכל אשר פרצו את גבול התורה מבאי הברית בהופע כבוד אל לישראל יכרתו מקרב המחנה ועמהם כל מרשיעי יהודה בימי מצרפותיו וכל המחזיקים במשפטים האלה לצאת ולבוא על פי התורה וישמעו לקול מורה ויתודו לפני אל . . . אנו רשענו ~~וא~~.. אנחנו גם אבותינו בלכתם קרי בחקי הברית ואמת משפטיך בנו : ולא ירימו יד על חקי קדשו ומשפט צדקו ועדוות אמתו : והתיסרו במשפטים הראשונים אשר נשפטו בני אנשי היחיד והאזינו לקול מורה צדק : ולא ישיבו אל חקי הצדק בשמעם אתם ישישו וישמחו ויעז לבם ויתגברו על כל בני תבל וכפר אל בעדם וראו בישועתו כי חסו בשם קדשו

נאמנות להם לחיותם לאלפי דורות : כב שומר הברית והחסד לאהב ולשמרי מצותי לאלף דור : ואם מחנות ישבו כחוקי הארץ אשר היה מקדם ולקחו נשים במנהג התורה והולידו בנים ויתהלכו על פי התורה : וכמשפט היסודים כסרך התורה כאשר אמר בין איש לאשתו ובין אב לבנו וכל המאסים במצות ובחקים להשיב גמול רשעים עליהם בפקד אל את הארץ בבוא הדבר אשר כתוב ביד זכריה הנביא חרב עורי על רועי ועל גבר עמיתי נאם אל הך את הרעה ותפוצינה הצאן והשיבותי ידי על הצוערים : והשומרים אותו הם עניי הצאן אלה ימלטו בקץ הפקדה והנשארים ימסרו לחרב בבוא משיח אהרן וישראל : כאשר היה בקץ פקדת הראשון אשר אמר יחזקאל ביד יחזקאל ~~והתוי~~ להתות התיו על מצחות נאנחים ונאנקים והנשארים הסגרו לחרב נוקמת נקם ברית : וכן משפט לכל באי בריתו אשר לא יחזיקו באלה החקים לפקדם לכלה ביד בליעל הוא היום אשר יפקד אל כאשר דבר היו שרי יהודה כמשיגי גבול עליהם אשפך כמים עברה : כי באו בברית תשובה ולא סרו מדרך בוגדים ויתעללו בדרכי זנות ובהון הרשעה ונקום ונטור איש לאחיהו ושנא איש את רעהו ויתעלמו איש בשאר בשרו ויגשו לזמה ויתגברו להון ולבצע ויעשו את איש הישר בעיניו ויבחרו איש בשרירות לבו ולא נזרו מעם ומחטאתם : ויפרעו ביד רמה ללכת בדרכי רשעים : אשר אמר אל עליהם חמת תנינים יינם וראש פתנים אכזר : התנינים מלכי העמים ויינם הוא דרכיהם וראש פתנים הוא ראש מלכי יון הבא עליהם לנקם נקמה ובכל אלה לא הבינו בוני החיץ וטחי תפל כי הולך רוח ושקל ~~מופת~~ סופות ומטיף אדם לכזב אשר חרה אף אל בכל עדתו : ואשר אמר משה לישראל לא בצדקתך וביושר לבבך אתה בא לרשת את הגוים האלה כי מאהבתו את אבותיך ומשמרו את השבועה : כן משפט לשבי ישראל סרו מדרך העם באהבת אל את הראשנים אשר העידו על העם אחרי אל ואהב את הבאים אחריהם כי להם ברית אבות ושונא ומתעב אל את בוני החיץ וחרה ~~אף~~ אפו בם ובכל ההלכים אחריהם וכמשפט הזה לכל המאס במצות אל ויעזבם ויפנו בשרירות לבם כן כל האנשים אשר באו בברית החדשה בארץ דמשק ושבו ויבגדו ויסורו מבאר מים החיים : ל. יחשבו בסוד עם ובכתבו לא יכתבו מיום האסף ~~עד מורה~~

Fragment—Text B.

עמכם ברית ועם כל ישראל על כן יקום האיש על נפשך לשוב אל תורת משה כי בה הכל מדוקדק ופרוש קציהם לעורון ישראל מכל אלה הנה הוא מדוקדק על ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם וביום אשר יקום האיש על נפשו לשוב אל תורת משה יסור מלאך המשטמה מאחריו אם יקים את דבריו על כן נימול אברהם ביום דעתו ואשר אמר מוצא שפתיך תשמור להקים כל שבועת אסר אשר יקום איש על נפשו לעשות דבר מן התורה עד מחיר מות אל יפדהו כל אשר . . . איש על נפשו ל . . . . עד מחיר מות אל יקימהו . . שבועת האשה אשר אמ . . . שה להניא את שבועתה אל יניא איש שבועה אשר לא . דע . . דם להקים הוא ואם להניא אם לעבור ברית הוא יניאה ואל יקימנה וכן המשפט לאביה על משפט ה . . ות אל ידור איש למזבח מאום אנוס וגם . . הנים אל יקחו מאת ישראל . . . . יקדש איש את מאכל . . . ל . י הוא אשר אמר איש את ע . דו . . ו חרם ואל יק . . . . . מכל . . . . אחזתו . קדש . . . . יענש הנודר . . . . לשופט . . . .

* * * * * * * * *

. . ע וגם באלף ולמד וגם באלף ודלת כי אם שבועה הב . . באלות הברית ואת תורת משה אל יזכור כי . . . .

ואם ישבע ועבר וחלל את השם ואם באלות הברית . . . השפטים ואם עבר אשם הוא והתודה והשיב ולא ישא . . . . . מות והבא בברית לכל ישראל לחוק עולם את בניהם אש . . . . לעבור על הפקודים בשבועת הברית יקומו עליהם וכן המשפט בכל קץ הרשע לכל השב מדרכו הנשחתה ביום דברו עם המבקר אשר לרבים יפקדוהו בשבועת הברית אשר כרת משה עם ישראל את הברית לש . . ל . . . שה בכל לב . . . נפש אל הנמצא לעשות בם . . . ץ . . . ואל יידיעהו איש את המשפטים עד עמדו לפני המבקר . א . יתפתה בו בדרשו אתו וכאשר יקים אותו עליו לשוב אל תורת משה בכל לב ובכל נפש . . . ים . . ממנו אם ר . . . ל . . וכל אשר נגלה מן התורה לריב . . . . ש . . בו . . . . המבקר אותו וצוה עליו וי . . . בד . . . מים . . לפ . . ע . . המתו א . . ה ומשוגע וכל . . . וכא . . . ל . . . . עד . . . אל . . . . בת . . . .

אשר לא באו מיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה וכל המתהלכים באלה ברית אל נאמנות להם להנצילם מכל מוקשי שחת כי פתאום ונענ..

וסרך מושב כל המחנות יפקדו כלם בשמותיהם הכהנים לראשונה והלוים שנים ובני ישראל שלשתם והגר רביע ויכתבו בשמותיהם איש אחר אחיהו הכהנים לראשונה והלוים שנים ובני ישראל שלושתם והגר רביע וכן ישבו וכן ישאלו לכל והכהן אשר יפקד אש הרבים מבן שלושים שנה ועד בן ששים מבונן בספר . . . בכל משפטי התורה לחברם כמשפטם והמבקר אשר לכל המחנות מבן שלשים שנה ועד בן חמשים שנה בעול בכל סוד אנשים ולכל לשון רמ . פרי . . על פיהו יבאו באי העדה איש בתרו ולכל דבר אשר יהיה לכל האדם לדבר למבקר ידבר לכל ריב ומשפט וזה סרך הרבים להכין כל חפציהם שכר תרומתן הם לכל חדש . המ . . . ט ונתנו על יד המבקר והשופטים ממנו יתנו בעד . . עם ו . מני יחזיקו בה עני ואביון ולזקן אשר . . . לאיש אשר יגע ולא . . . ישבה לגוי נכר ולבתולה אשר . . . . ר אין לו דורש כל עבודת . . ולא . . . . וזה פרוש מושב . . . . .וזה פרוש המשפטים אשר . . . . אהרן וישראל ויכפר עוננו . . . . ר קר בממון והוא יודע ו. . . . . .ענש ימים ששה ואשר ידבר. . . . . א במש . . . .

וישראל עד עשרה אנשים למועט לאלפים ומיאיות וחמשים ועשרות ובקום עשרה אל ימש איש כהן מבונן בספר ההגו על פיהו ישקו כולם   ואם אין הוא בחון בכל אלה ואיש מהלוים בחון באלה ויצא הגורל לצאת ולבוא על פיהו כל באי המחנה   ואם משפש לתורת נגע יהיה באיש ובא הכהן ועמד במחנה והבינו המבקר בפרוש התורה   ואם פתי הוא הוא יסגירנו כי להם המשפט   וזה סרך המבקר למחנה ישכיל את הרבים במעשי אל ויבינם בגבורות פלאי ויספר לפניהם נהיות עולם בפרתיה וירחם עליהם כאב לבניו ויש . . . לכל מרחובם כרועה עדרו יתר כל חרצובות קשריהם ל . מי . . דים עשוק ורצוץ בעדתו

וכל הנוסף לעדתו יפקדהו למ . שיו ושוכלו וכוחו וגבורתו והונו וכתבוהו במקומו כפי יהותו בגורל ה . . .   אל ימשול איש מבני המחנה להביא איש אל העדה . . פי המבקר אשר למחנה

ואיש מכל באי ברית אל ישאל אל יתן . . בני השחר . . אם כף לכף   ואל יעש איש . . למ . . ולמ . . מכר . . אם . . . למבקר אשר במחנה ועשה . . . נה ולא י . . . . ה וכן למגרש והוא י . . . . .ענוהו ובאהבת חט . . אל יטה . . הב . . . . הם ואת אשר איננו נקשר ב . . . .   וזה מושב המחנות . כל . . . . לה לא יצליחו לשבת בארץ . . . . לה ה . . למ . . ל . . . .

קודש הוא   אל ישכב איש עם אשה בעיר המקדש לטמא את עיר המקדש בנדתם   כל אשר[איש] אשר ימשלו בו רוחות בליעל ודבר סרה כמשפט האוב והידעוני ישפט וכל אשר יתעה לחלל את השבת ואת המועדות לא יומת כי על בני האדם משמרו ואם ירפא ממנה ושמרוהו עד שבע שנים ואחר יבוא אל הקהל   אל ישלח את ידו לשפוך דם לאיש מן הגוים בעבור הון ובצע   וגם אל ישא מהונם כל בעבור אשר לא יגדפו כי אם בעצת חבור ישראל   אל ימכר איש בהמה ועוף טהורים לגוים בעבור אשר לא יזבחום   ומגורנו ומגתו אל ימכר להם בכל מאדו ואת עבדו ואת אמתו אל ימכור להם אשר באו עמו בברית אברהם   אל ישקץ איש את נפשו בכל החיה והרמש לאכל מהם מעגלי הדבורים עד כל נפש החיה אשר תרמוש במים והדגים אל יאכלו כי אם נקרעו חיים ונשפך [ד]מם וכל החגבים במיניהם יבאו באש או במים עד הם חיים כי הוא משפט בריאתם   וכל העצים והאבנים והעפר אשר יגואלו בטמאת האדם לגאולי שמו בהם כפי טמאתם יטמא הנוגע בם   וכל כלי ~~פסמר~~ מסמר או יתד בכותל אשר יהיו עם המת בבית יטמא בטמאת אחד כלי מעשה

סרך מושב ערי ישראל על המשפטים האלה להבדיל בין הטמא לטהור ולהודיע בין הקודש לחול   ואלה החקים למשכיל להתהלך בם עם כלהו למשפט . . ועת וכמשפט הזה יתהלכו זרע ישראל ולא יוארו   וזה סרך מושב . . . . . תהל . . . . בקץ הרשעה עד עמוד משוח אהרן

*   *   *   *   *   *   *   *   *

בדרך וירד לרחוץ ישתה על עומדו   ואל ישאב אל כל כלי   אל ישלח את בן הנכר לעשות את חפצו ביום השבת

אל יקח איש עליו בגדים צואים או מובאים בגו כי אם כיבסו במים או שופים בלבונה   אל יתערב איש מרצונו בשבת   אל ילך איש אחר הבהמה לרעותה חוץ מעירו כי אם אלפים באמה   אל ירם את ידו להכותה באגרוף   אם סוררת היא אל יוציאה מביתו   אל יוציא איש מן הבית לחוץ ומן החוץ אל בית ואם במובה יהיה אל יוצא ממנה ואל יבא אליה אל פתח כלי טוח בשבת   אל ישא איש עליו סמנים לצאת ולבוא בשבת   אל יטול בבית מושבת סלע ועפר   אל ישא האומן את היונק לצאת ולבוא בשבת

אל ימרא איש את עבדו ואת אמתו ואת שוכרו בשבת ~~אל~~ אל יילד איש בהמה ביום השבת   ואם תפול אל בור ואל פחת אל יקימה בשבת   אל ישבית איש במקום קרוב לגוים בשבת   אל יחל איש את השבת על הון ובצע בשבת

וכל נפש אדם אשר תפול אל ~~מים~~ מקום מים ואל מקום אל יעלה איש בסולם וחבל וכלי   אל יעל איש למזבח בשבת כי אם עולת השבת כי כן כתוב מלבד שבתותיכם   אל ישלח איש למזבח עולה ומנחה ולבונה ועץ ביד איש טמא באחת מן הטמאות להרשותו לטמא את המזבח כי כתוב זבח רשעים תועבה ותפלת צדקם כמנחת רצון   וכל הבא אל בית השתחות אל יבא טמא כבוס ובהרע חצוצרות הקהל יתקדם או יתאחר ולא ישביתו את העבודה כולה ...ת

עוד לשופטים להמית על פיהו אשר לא מלאו ימיו לעבור על הפקודים ירא את אל   אל יאמן איש על רעהו לעד עובר דבר מן המצוה ביד רמה עד זכו לשוב

וזה סרך לשפטי העדה עד עשרה אנשים ברורים מן העדה לפי העת ארבעה למטה לוי ואהרן ומישראל ששה מבוננים בספר ההגו וביסודי הברית מבני חמשה ועשרים שנה עד בני ששים שנה ואל יתיצב עוד מבן ששים שנה ומעלה לשפוט את העדה כי במעל האדם מעטו ימו ובחרון אף אל ביושבי הארץ אמר לסור את דעתם עד לא ישלימו את ימיהם על הטהר במים אל ירחץ איש במים צואים ומעוטים מדי מרעיל איש

אל יטהר במה כלי וכל גבא בסלע אשר אין בו די מרעיל אשר נגע בו הטמא וטמא מימיו במימי הכלי על הש..ת לשמרה כמשפטה   אל יעש איש ביום הששי מלאכה מן העת אשר יהיה גלגל השמש רחוק מן השער מלואו כי הוא אשר אמר שמור את יום השבת לקדשו וביום השבת אל ידבר איש דבר נבל ורק אל ישה ברעהו כל אל ישפוט על הון ובצע אל ידבר בדברי המלאכה והעבודה לעשות למשכים

אל יתהלך איש בשדה לעשות את עבודת חפצי השבת אל יתהלך חוץ לעירו אד על אלף באמה

אל יאכל איש ביום השבת כי אם המוכן ומן האובד ....ה   ואל יאכל ואל ישתה כי אם היה במחנה

כל אדם אשר יחרים אדם מאדם בחוקי הגוים להמית הוא ואשר אמר לא תקום ולא תטור את בני עמך וכל איש מביאי הברית אשר יביא על רעהו דבר אשר לא בהוכח לפני עדים והביאו בחרון אפו או ספר לזקניו להבזותו נוקם הוא ונוטר

ואין כתוב כי אם נוקם הוא לצריו ונוטר הוא לאויביו אם החריש לו מיום ליום ובחרון אפו בו דבר בו בדבר מות ענה בו יען אשר לא הקים את מצות אל אשר אמר לו הוכח תוכיח את רעיך ולא תשא עליו חטא   על השבועה אשר אמר לא תושיעך ידך לך איש אשר ישביע על פני השדה אשר לא לפנים השפטים או מאמרם הושיע ידו לו וכל האובד ולא נודע מי גנבו ממאד המחנה אשר גנב בו ישביע בעליו בשבועת האלה והשומע אם יודע הוא ולא יגיד ואשם

כל אשם מושב אשר אין בעלים והתודה המושב לכהן והיה לו לבד מאיל האשם הכל   וכן כל אבדה נמצאת ואין לה בעלים והיתה לכהנים כי לא ידע מוצאיה את משפטה אם לא נמצא לה בעלים הם ישמרו   כל דבר אשר ימעל איש בתורה וראה רעיהו והוא אחד אם דבר מות הוא ויודיעהו לעיניו   בהוכיח למבקר והמבקר יכתבהו בידו עד עשותו עוד לפני אחד ושב והודיע למבקר אם ישוב וניתפש לפני אחד שלם משפטו   ואם שנים הם והם מעידים על דבר אחר והובדל האיש מן הטהרה לבד   אם נאמנים הם וביום ראות האיש יודיעה למבקר ועל ההון.. כלו שני עידים נאמנים   ועל אחד להבדיל הטהרה ואל יקום

והנסוגים הסגירו לחרב וכן משפט כל באי בריתו אשר לא יחזיקו באלה לפוקדם לכלה ביד בליעל הוא היום אשר יפקד אל היו שרי יהודה אשר תשפוך עליהם העברה כי יחלו למרפא וידקמום כל מורדים מאשר לא סרו מדרך בוגדים ויתגוללו בדרכי זונות ובהון רשעה ונקום וניטור איש לאחיו ושנוא איש את רעהו ויתעלמו איש בשאר בשרו ויגשו לזמה ויתנכרו להון ולבצע ויעשו איש הישר בעיניו ויבחרו איש בשרירות לבו ולא נזרו מעם ויפרעו ביד רמה ללכת בדרך רשעים אשר אמר אל עליהם חמת תנינים יינם וראש פתנים אכזר   התנינים הם מלכי העמים ויינם הוא דרכיהם וראש הפתנים הוא ראש מלכי יון הבא לעשות בהם נקמה ובכל אלה לא הבינו בוני החוץ וטחי התפל כי מבוהל רוח ומטיף כזב הטיף להם אשר חרה אף אל בכל עדתו ואשר אמר משה לא בצדקתך ובישר לבבך אתה בא לרשת את הגוים האלה כי מאהבתו את אבותך ומשמרו את השבועה

וכן המשפט לשבי ישראל סרו מדרך העם באהבת אל את הראשנים אשר הועירו אחריו אהב את הבאים אחריהם כי להם ברית האבות   ובשונאי את בוני החוץ חרה אפו   וכמשפט הזה לכל המואס במצות אל ויעזבם ויפנו בשרירות לבם

הוא הדבר אשר אמר ירמיה לברוך בן נרייה ואלישע לגחזי נערו   כל האנשים אשר באו בברית החדשה בארץ דמשק

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אחיהו ולא ימעל איש בשאר בשרו להזיר מן הזונות כמשפט להוכיח איש את אחיהו כמצוה ולא לנטור מיום ליום ולהבדל מכל הטמאות כמשפטם ולא ישקץ איש את רוח קדשיו כאשר הבדיל אל להם כל המתהלכים באלה בתמים קדש על פי כל יסורו ברית אל נאמנות להם לחיותם אלף דור ואם מחנות ישבו כסרך הארץ ולקחו נשים והולידו בנים והתהלכו על פי התורה וכמשפט היסורים כסרך התורה כאשר אמר בין איש לאשתו ובין אב לבנו וכל המואסים בפקד אל את הארץ להשיב גמול רשעים עליהם כבוא הדבר אשר כתוב בדברי ישעיה בן אמוץ הנביא אשר אמר יבוא עליך ועל עמך ועל בית אביך ימים אשר באו מיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה בהפרד שני בתי ישראל שר אפרים מעל יהודה וכל הנסוגים הסגרו לחרב והמחזיקים נמלטו לארץ צפון כאשר אמר והגליתי את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמיכם מאהלי דמשק ספרי התורה הם סוכת המלך כאשר אמר והקימותי את סוכת דוד הנפלת המלך הוא הקהל וכינוי הצלמים וכיון הצלמים הם ספרי הנביאים אשר בזה ישראל את דבריהם והכוכב הוא דורש התורה הבא דמשק כאשר כתוב דרך כוכב מיעקב וקם שבט מישראל השבט הוא נשיא כל העדה ובעמדו וקרקר את כל בני שת אלה מלטו בקץ הפקודה הראשון

במשיחו הקודש וינבאו שקר להשיב את ישראל מֵאחר אל ויזכר אל ברית ראשנים ויקח מאהרן נבונים ומישראל חכמים וישמעם ויחפורו את הבאר באר חפרוה שרים כרוה נדיבי העם במחוקק הבאר היא התורה וחופריה הם שבי ישראל היוצאים מארץ יהודה ויגורו בארץ דמשק אשר קרא אֵל את כולם שרים כי דרשוהו ולא הושבה פארתם בפי אחד והמחוקק הוא דורש התורה אשר אמר ישעיה מוציא כלי למעשיהו ונדיבי העם הם הבאים לכרות את הבאר במחוקקות אשר חקק המחוקק להתהלך במה בכל קץ הרשיע וזולתם לא ישיגו עד עמד יורה הצדק באחרית הימים וכל אשר הובאו בברית לבלתי בוא אל המקדש להאיר מזבחו ויהיו מסגירי הדלת אשר אמר אֵל מי בכם יסגיר דלתו ולא תאירו מזבחי חנם אם לא ישמרו לעשות כפרוש התורה לקץ הרשע ולהבדל מבני השחת ולהנזר מהון הרשעה הטמא בנדר ובחרם ובהון המקדש ולגזול את עניי עמו להיות אלמנות שללם ואת יתומים ירצחו ולהבדיל בין הטמא לטהור ולהודיע בין הקודש לחול ולשמור את יום השבת כפרושה ואת המועדות ואת יום התענית במצא.. באי הברית החדשה בארץ דמשק להרים את הקדשים כפירושיהם לאהוב איש את אחיהו כמהו ולהחזיק ביד עני ואביון וגר ולדרוש איש את שלום

ובאי התבה שנים שנים באו אל התבה   ועל הנשיא כתוב לא ירבה לו נשים ודויד לא קרא בספר התורה החתום אשר היה בארון כי לא נפתח בישראל מיום מות אלעזר ויהושע ויושע והזקנים אשר עבדו את העשתרות ויטמון נגלה עד עמוד צדוק ויעלו מעשי דויד מלבד דם אוריה ויעזבם לו אל וגם מטמאים הם את המקדש אשר אין הם מבדיל כתורה ושוכבים עם הרואה את דם זובה ולוקחים איש את בת אחיהם ואת בת אחותו   ומשה אמר אל אחות אמך לא תקרב שאר אמך היא ומשפט העריות לזכרים הוא כתוב וכהם הנשים ואם תגלה בת האח את ערות אחי אביה והיא שאר   וגם את רוח קדשיהם טמאו ובלשון גדופים פתחו פה על חוקי ברית אל לאמר לא נכונו ותועבה הם מדברים בם כלם קדחו אש ומבערי זיקי קורי עכביש קוריהם וביצי צפעונים ביציהם הקרוב אליהם לא ינקה כהר ביתו יאשם כי אם נלחץ כי אם למילפנים פקד אל את מעשיהם ויחר אפו בעלילותם כי לא עם בינות הוא הם גוי אבד עצות מאשר אין בהם בינה כי מלפנים עמד משה ואהרן ביד שר האורים ויקם בליעל את יחנה ואת אחיהו במזמתו בהושע ישראל את הראשונה

ובקץ חרבן הארץ עמדו מסיגי הגבול ויתעו את ישראל ותישם הארץ כי דברו סרה על מצות אל ביד משה וגם

צדוק אשר שמרו את משמרת מקדשו בתעות בני ישראל מעליהם יגישו לי חלב ודם   הכהנים הם שבי ישראל היוצאים מארץ יהודה והנלוים עמהם   ובני צדוק הם בחירי · ישראל קריאי השם העמדים באחרית הימים הנה פרוש שמותיהם לתולדותם וקץ מעמדם ומספר צרותיהם ושני התגוררם ופירוש מעשיהם   הקודש שונים אשר כפר אל בעדם ויצדיקו צדיק וירשיעו רשע וכל הבאים אחריהם לעשות כפרוש התורה אשר התוסרו בו הראשנים עד שלים הקץ השנים האלה כברית אשר הקים אל לראשנים לכפר על עונותיהם כן יכפר אל בעדם ובשלום הקץ למספר השנים האלה אין עוד להשתפח לבית יהודה כי אם לעמוד איש על מצודו נבנתה הגדר רחק החוק ובכל השנים האלה יהיה בליעל משולח בישראל כאשר דבר אל ביד ישעיה הנביא בן אמוץ לאמר פחד ופחת ופח עליך יושב הארץ   פשרו שלושת מצודות בליעל אשר אמר עליהם לוי בן יעקב אשר הוא תפש בהם בישראל ויתנם פניהם לשלושת מיני הצדק הראשונה היא הזנות השנית ההון השלישית טמא המקדש העולה מזה יתפש בזה והניצל מזה יתפש בזה   בוני החוץ אשר הלכו אחרי צו הצו הוא מטיף אשר אמר הטף יטיפון הם ניתפשים בשתים בזנות לקחת שתי נשים בחייהם ויסוד הבריאה זכר ונקבה ברא אותם

בה תעי בני נח ומשפחה . הם בה הם נכרתים אברהם לא הלך בה ויע . . . הב בשמרו מצות אל ולא בחר ברצון רוחו וימסור לישחק וליעקב וישמרו ויכתבו אוהבים לאל ובעלי ברית לעולם בני יעקב תעו בם ויענשו לפני משגותם ובניהם במצרים הלכו בשרירות לבם להיעץ על מצות אל ולעשות איש הישר בעיניו ויאכלו את הדם ויכרת זכורם במדבר להם בקדש עלו ורשו את רוחם ולא שמעו לקול עשיהם מצות יוריהם וירגנו באהליהם ויחר אף אל בעדתם ובניהם בו אבדו ומלכיהם בו נכרתו וגיבוריהם בו אבדו וארצם בו שממה בו חבו באי הברית הראשנים ויסגרו לחרב בעזבם את ברית אל ויבחרו ברצונם ויתורו אחרי שרירות לבם לעשות איש את רצונו ובמחזיקים במצות אל אשר נותרו מהם הקים אל את בריתו לישראל עד עולם לגלות להם נסתרות אשר תעו בם כל ישראל שבתות קדשו ומועדי כבודו עידות צדקו ודרכי אמתו וחפצי רצונו אשר יעשה האדם וחיה בהם פתח לפניהם ויחפרו באר למים רבים ומואסיהם לא יחיה והם התגוללו בפשע אנוש ובדרכי נדה ויאמרו כי לנו היא ואל ברוי פלאו כפר בעד עונם וישא לפשעם ויבן להם בית נאמן בישראל אשר לא עמד כמהו למלפנים ועד הנה המחזיקים בו לחיי נצח וכל כבוד אדם להם הוא כאשר הקים אל להם ביד יחזקאל הנביא לאמר הכהנים והלוים(?) ובני

אל בעדתם להשם את כל המונם ומעשיהם לנדה לפניו

ועתה שמעו אלי כל באי ברית ואגלה אזנכם בדרכי רשעים   אל אהב דעת חכמה ותושיה הציב לפניו ערמה ודעת הם ישרתוהו ארך אפים עמו ורוב סליחות לכפר בעד שבי פשע וכוח וגבורה וחמה גדולה בלהבי אש בו כל מלאכי חבל על סררי דרך ומתעבי חק לאין שאירית ופליטה למו כי לא בחר אל בהם מקדם עולם ובטרם נוסדו ידע את מעשיהם ויתעב את דורות מדם ויסתר את פניו מן הארץ מי עד תומם וידע את שני מעמד ומספר ופרוש קציתם לכל הוי עולמים ונהיית עד מה יבוא בקציהם לכל שני עולם ובכולם הקים לו קריאי שם למען הֹתִיר פליטה לארץ ולמלא פני תבל מזרעם   ויודיעם ביד משיחו רוח קדשו והוא אמת ובפרוש שמו שמותיהם ואת אשר שנא התעה

ועתה בנים שמעו לי ואגלה עיניכם לראות ולהבין במעשי אל ולבחור את אשר רצה ולמאוס כאשר שנא להתהלך תמים בכל דרכיו ולא לתור במחשבות יצר אשמה ועני זנות כי רבים תעו בם וגבורי חיל נכשלו בם מלפנים ועד הנה בלכתם בשרירות לבם נפלו עידי השמים בה נאחזו אשר לא שמרו מצות אל ובניהם אשר כרום ארזים גָבהָם וכהרים גוויותיהם כי נפלו כל בשר היה בחרבה כי גוע ויהיו כלא היו בעשותם את רצונם ולא שמרו את מצות עשיהם עד אשר חרה אפו בם

I

ועתה שמעו כל יודעי צדק ובינו במעשי אל כי רִיב לו עם כל בשר ומשפט יעשה בכל מנאציו כי במועלם אשר עזבוהו הסתיר פניו מישראל וממקדשו ויתנם לחרב ובזכרו ברית ראשנים השאיר שארית לישראל ולא נתנם לכלה ובקץ חרון שנים שלוש מאות ותשעים לתיתו אותם ביד נבוכדנאצר מלך בבל פקדם ויצמח מישראל ומאהרן שורש מטעת לירוש את ארצו ולדשן בטוב ארמתו ויבינו בעונם ויֵּדעו כי אנשים אשֵׁמִים הם ויהיו כעורים וְכִימגשְׁשִׁים דרך שָׁנִים עשרים ויבן אֵל אֶל מעשיהם כי בלב שלם דרשוהו ויקֶם להם מורה צדק להדריכם בדרך לבו ויודע לדורות אחרונים את אשר עשה בדור אחרון בעדת בוגדים הם סרי דרך היא העת אשר היה כתוב עליה כפרה סורירה כן סרר ישראל בעמוד איש הלצון אשר הטיף לישראל מימי כזב ויתעם בתוהו לא דרך להשח גבהות עולם ולסור מנתיבות צדק ולסיע גבול אשר גבלו ראשנים בנחלתם למען הדבק בהם את אלות בריתו להסגירם לחרב נקמת נקם ברית בעבור אשר דרשו בחלקות ויבחרו במַהֲתַלּוֹת ויצפו לפרצות ויבחרו בטוב הצואר ויצדיקו רשע וירשיעו צדיק ויעבירו ברית ויפירו חוק וַיָּגודו על נפש צדיק ובכל הולכי תמים תעבה נפשם וירדפום לחרב וָיסִיסו לריב עָם ויחר אף

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ועתה שמעו כל יודעי צדק ובינו במעשי
אל כי ריב לו עם כל בשר ומשפט יעשה בכל מנאציו
כי במועלם אשר עזבוהו הסתיר פניו מישראל וממקדשו
ויתנם לחרב ובזכרו ברית ראשנים השאיר שאירית
לישראל ולא נתנם לכלה ובקץ חרון שנים שלוש מאות
ותשעים לתיתו אותם ביד נבוכדנאצר מלך בבל
פקדם ויצמח מישראל ומאהרן שורש מטעת לירוש
את ארצו ולדשן בטוב אדמתו ויבינו בעונם וידעו כי
אנשים אשימים הם ויהיו כעורים וכימגששים דרך
שנים עשרים ויבן אל אל מעשיהם כי בלב שלם דרשוהו
ויקם להם מורה צדק להדריכם בדרך לבו ויודע
לדורות אחרונים את אשר עשה בדור אחרון בעדת בוגדים
הם סרי דרך היא העת אשר היה כתוב עליה כפרה סורירה
כן סרר ישראל בעמוד איש הלצון אשר הטיף לישראל
מימי כזב ויתעם בתוהו לא דרך להשח גבהות עולם ולסור
מנתיבות צדק ולסיע גבול אשר גבלו ראשנים בנחלתם למען
הדבק בהם את אלות בריתו להסגירם לחרב נוקמת נקם
ברית בעבור אשר דרשו בחלקות ויבחרו במהתלות ויצפו
לפרצות ויבחרו בטוב הצואר ויצדיקו רשע וירשיעו צדיק
ויעבירו ברית ויפירו חוק ויגודו על נפש צדיק ובכל הולכי
תמים תעבה נפשם וירדפום לחרב ויסיסו לריב עם ויחר אף

Facsimile of page 1. Text A

Fragment—Text A.

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